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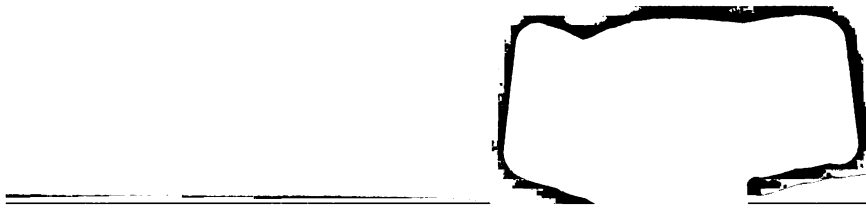

JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN

BY

SIR KENELM DIGBY,

A.D. 1628.

EDITED, FROM THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM WATKIN E. WYNNE, ESQ.

BY

JOHN BRUCE, ESQ., F.S.A.

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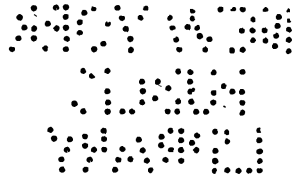

[NO. XCVI.]

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PREFACE.

THE family of Digby is stated by genealogists to have borne originally the name of Tilton, which is that of a parish in the county of Leicester in which they possessed lands. On the removal of their residence to Digby, which is situate in the adjoining county of Lincoln, they relinquished the name of Tilton and assumed their present name, although still retaining their property in the former parish. This change took place so long ago as in the reign of Henry III., and Dugdale* shadows forth the descent of many generations of Digbys from that distant period. At the battle of Towton, which was fought in 1461, three brothers of the name of Digby fell fighting on the side of the House of Lancaster; and in the next generation it is said that seven brethren, sons of an Everard Digby, eldest brother of the three who fell at Towton, drew sword in the same cause on the field of Bosworth. Henry VII. acknowledged his obligations to the seven by giving them shares in the forfeited estates of the supporters of the House of York; and from Everard and Simon Digby, two of those seven, there descended two families of Digbys who established themselves, one at Drystoke in Rutlandshire, and the other at Coleshill in Warwickshire. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth these two divi-

* Baronage, ii. 436.

sions of the family made themselves conspicuous; that of Rutlandshire by having at its head a Kenelm Digby, six times sheriff of the county, and an active, useful magistrate; and that of Warwickshire, under a Sir George Digby, one of the noble band of Englishmen who fought at Zutphen when Sir Philip Sidney received his death-wound. Sir George earned his knighthood from the hand of the Earl of Leicester for his gallantry on that occasion.*

The reign of James I. was a period of peculiar importance to both these branches of the family of Digby. One special incident in that reign made what is called the fortune of one of them, and overwhelmed the other with disgrace. John Digby, a handsome youngest son of the Warwickshire house, was despatched to the Court by Lord Harrington to apprise the King of the design of the Gunpowder Conspirators upon the Princess Elizabeth, and of the measures taken for her security. The well-favoured messenger attracted his Majesty's attention. After a preliminary course of preferment in the royal household, he was sent to Spain as ambassador; he afterwards played a conspicuous part in the difficulties arising out of the intended Spanish match, and was created Earl of Bristol in 1622. Nor was this the only dignity procured by the Warwickshire branch of the family. The Earl of Bristol's eldest surviving brother, Robert, was knighted by the Earl of Essex in Ireland in 1596, and married the Baroness Offaley, heir-general of the House of Kildare. He died in 1618, leaving as his eldest son another Robert, who was created an Irish peer in 1620, by the title of Lord Digby of Geashill, with the condition that his mother's dignity, which had been a subject of dispute, should revert, upon her decease, to the House of Kildare.†

* Stowe's Annales, p. 739, ed. Howes. † Lodge's Peerage, ed. 1789, vi. 288.

In the meantime, mere hopeless ruin seemed to have overtaken the other branch of the family. Kenelm Digby died in 1590; his son, a Sir Everard, the favourite Christian name of the family,* followed him two years afterwards, leaving his eldest son, another Everard, at the dangerous age of eleven. The boy inherited even more than the good looks which belonged to all his house. He grew up to be esteemed the handsomest man in England. He was knighted in 1603, and made a great match in marriage with Mary, daughter and one of the co-heiresses of William Mulsho of Gayhurst, or, as it was then called, Gotehurst, in the county of Buckingham. On his marriage he removed from the more distant Drystoke to the pleasant, or, as the poet Cowper designates it, the "happy," situation of Gayhurst. But during the few years of his occupancy Gayhurst, however agreeable its commanding site, must have been anything rather than a happy place. Sir Everard probably came into his wife's religion as well as her property; at any event he was a Roman Catholic. Enthusiastically anxious to promote what he deemed the interests of his Church, he entered, when little more than a boy, into the intrigues and conspiracies of the day. Tradition tells of secret chambers constructed by him at Gayhurst for concealment of priests, and of meetings held there of persons unknown, and for purposes not disclosed, and therefore deemed culpable. Once on this dangerous track, the love he bore to Catesby, who exercised a singular fascination over all his friends, not merely kept the shallow and impetuous Sir Everard steady, but plunged him, at the age of twenty-four, into the very depths of the Gunpowder Treason.

* There were six successive Everards as the heads of the house, in so many successive generations, with the single interposition of the Kenelm above alluded to.—Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ed. 1789, vi. 262.

Seeing, as he said, that the cause of what he termed religion "lay at the stake, he entered into resolution to neglect, in that behalf, his estate, his life, his name, his memory, his posterity, and all worldly and earthly felicity whatsoever . . . for the restoring of the Catholic religion in England."* He agreed to assist the atrocious project with 1,500*l.* in money, and to be the leader of a pretended hunting party which was to assemble at Dunchurch in Warwickshire on the fatal 5th November, whilst the frightful deed was being transacted at Westminster. On receiving notice that the blow was struck, he and his companions were to proceed to Combe Abbey, to take possession of the Princess Elizabeth, and to proclaim her Queen.

Sir Everard was so entirely blind to the moral character of the action upon which he had embarked as to be astonished and shocked when he found that even "Catholics and priests" condemned the means resorted to by the conspirators as "a great sin." He began, under such circumstances, even to question his own "good state," a consideration which overwhelmed him with "more bitterness of grief" than all his other miseries. Such is his own statement in private letters which he found means to have conveyed from the Tower to his friends.† He afterwards either settled his mind to a contrary conclusion upon this point, or did not care to make so large an admission to the audience assembled around his scaffold. To them he declared, even at the moment of his death, that "in respect of his religion" he held the action for which he was about to suffer to be "no offence," although, in respect of the law, it was otherwise.‡

* The Gunpowder Treason, ed. 1679, p. (55).

† They were discovered seventy years afterwards among the muniments of his son Sir Kenelm, and were published in The Gunpowder Treason, ed. 1679, pp. 167—170.

‡ Jardine's Gunpowder Treason, ed. 1857, p. 147.

On his trial, Sir Everard petitioned with earnestness that his punishment might not extend beyond himself. He craved especially that his wife might enjoy her jointure, and his son the benefit of an entail made long before any thought was entertained of the Gunpowder Conspiracy. Attorney-General Coke answered "Nimrod Digby" with needless, but with him (it is to be feared) customary, ferocity, that, inasmuch as for the Catholic cause he had been content to neglect the ruin of himself, his wife, his estates, "and all," he should have his desire "as 'tis in the Psalm, 'Let his wife be a widow, and his children vagabonds, let his posterity be destroyed, and in the next generation let his name be quite put out.'" The anathema of the Hebrew poet, no less than the law of the Attorney-General, failed in its application to the family of Sir Everard. After a litigation of several years, the law upheld the conveyance to uses which he had made, and thus lands stated to have been of the value of 3,000*l.* per annum * were saved to his family. †

That family consisted of two sons, the elder named Kenelm, after his paternal great-grandfather, the younger John, probably after his distant relative the future Earl of Bristol. It is of the elder of these two we have now to treat. He was the writer of the Journal which is here published, and according to his own statement in certain autobiographical memoranda, which will be mentioned hereafter, was "about 20 days more than two years 6 months old" when his father was put to death.

Many things relating to Sir Kenelm Digby have been in dispute, and among them the day of his birth. Generally speaking absolute exactness in that particular is of little moment for the purposes of

* Aubrey's Lives, ii. 328.

† There is a fine full-length portrait of Sir Everard at Peniarth; the artist is unknown.

biography, but in Sir Kenelm's case the determination is a subject of curiosity if not of importance. One precise day—the 11th June—has been assigned to his birth, his victory at Scanderoon—one of the most important incidents of his history—and his death. Ben Jonson stated his belief in the concurrency of the first and second of these events in lines addressed to Sir Kenelm's wife, with an amplification which seems to show that it was a belief in the fact, and not the necessity of rhyme, which led him to that conclusion:—

> Witness his action done at Scanderoon,
> Upon his birth-day, the eleventh of June,
> When the Apostle Barnaby the bright*
> Unto one year doth give the longest light;†

and when Sir Kenelm had run his course, his friend and panegyrist Dr. Richard Farrar composed some lines upon him by way of epitaph, in which he asserted that he was

> Born on the day he died, the eleventh of June,
> And that day bravely fought at Scanderoon;
> 'Tis rare that one and the same day should be
> His day of birth, of death, of victory.‡

The Oxford antiquary, Anthony Wood, called in question the first of these dates,§ on the authority of a Book of Nativities collected by Dr. Richard Napier of Buckinghamshire,‖ a MS. then

* Before the change of style the 11th June, the day of St. Barnabas, was the longest day, a fact commemorated in an old popular invocation alluded to in Jonson's lines:

> "Barnaby bright! Barnaby bright!
> The longest day and the shortest night."

† Underwoods; Jonson's Works, ed. Gifford, ix. 47. Gifford sneers at Wood and Aubrey, as a couple of dreamers, not worth an argument.

‡ Biog. Brit. ed. Kippis, art. Sir Kenelm Digby.

§ Ath. Oxon. iii. 688.

‖ The Dr. Napier, or perhaps rather Napper, who is here mentioned, was rector of Great Linford, Bucks. He was a pupil of Simon Forman, whose papers came into his hands.

in the hands of Elias Ashmole; and also on that of an Almanack for 1673 published by John Gadbury. Dr. Campbell, the writer of the article in the Biographia Britannica to which we have just referred, disputed the value of Anthony Wood's authorities, upon the ground that Dr. Napier's "work" was written in a very bad hand, and that Gadbury probably merely borrowed from Napier, or, if not, that his handwriting was no better than Napier's. Gadbury may be given up as not worth defending upon any point; but Wood's other authority, which is now Ashmole MS. No. 174, is unimpeachable. Dr. Campbell speaks of the MS., it will have been noticed, as a "work" of Dr. Napier, and as if it were written in his hand. Wood describes it more accurately as a Book of Nativities collected by him, and therefore likely to consist of papers written in various hands. Such it is, and the particular paper which relates to Sir Kenelm Digby, which occurs at fol. 75 of the MS., is written in a large, bold, distinct hand—a clearer or plainer hand can scarcely be conceived. Dr. Campbell's argument, therefore, falls to the ground entirely; and to make the date still more absolutely certain, the handwriting of the paper in question is not only as legible as writing can be, but it is the handwriting of Sir Kenelm Digby himself.* The principal passage of the manuscript which relates to this subject is written under an astrological scheme of nativity, and is as follows: "This figure was erected, not by the Ephemerides, but by Maginus his tables, for one

On Dr. Napper's death the papers passed to his brother, Sir Robert Napper, a Turkey merchant, whose son Thomas Napper presented them to Elias Ashmole.—Lilly's Hist. ed. 1715, pp. 16, 52.

* I am indebted to the Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, not only for most kindly pointing out to me this MS. but for a transcript of it, and for comparing the handwriting with a fac-simile of a portion of the Journal now published, with which it entirely agrees.

borne as aforesaid 1603, according to the English account the 11 of July, betweene 5 and 6 of the clocke in the morning, w^ch^ is the 10th day of that moneth, and 17 houres and a halfe after noone; according to the reformed calendar it is so many houres after the 20th day."*

However we may endeavour to account for the mistakes of Ben Jonson and Dr. Farrar, we cannot, in the face of these reiterated assertions, conclude otherwise than that Sir Kenelm's birthday was the 11th July 1603, and, therefore, that it was not in the same month as his victory or his death.

His early life is a period with respect to which our information is extremely defective and contradictory. In childhood, and especially whilst his right to his father's entailed estates remained in dispute, it may well be supposed that he continued under the care of his mother, who would bring him up in her own religious faith. But it is asserted that after his right to considerable estates had been confirmed by legal adjudication, he was placed under other guardianship. "He seems to have been taken early out of her [*i. e.* his mother's] hands," these are the words of Dr. Campbell,† "since it is certain that he renounced the errors of Popery very young, and was carefully bred in the Protestant religion, chiefly, as there is

* Following the above passage there are various autobiographical memoranda, principally relating to sicknesses and accidents, which run on to the twenty-first year of Sir Kenelm's age, about which time the MS. was probably written, and the whole concludes, as if to make assurance upon the subject of the birthday doubly sure, with the following reiteration of the explanation as to the application of the new and old style to the scheme of nativity: "The places of the planets were collected out of the Ephemerides of Origanus, who in the first columne on the left hand setting downe the dayes of the moneth according to the Gregorian reformed account, they are thus the 20th day with the odde houres, to w^ch^ correspondeth on the right hand of the other page the 10th day according to the Julian old Kalendar."

† Biog. Brit. ed. Kippis, v. 185.

good reason to believe, under the direction of Archbishop Laud, then Dean of Gloucester, who had a very great affection for him, and had reclaimed a near relation of his from Popery." Anthony Wood in some degree confirms this statement by asserting that he was "trained up in the Protestant religion."* All this is of course very possible, nor is it at all at variance with the usages of that day; but we have failed to discover Dr. Campbell's "good reason" for supposing any portion of it to be true. The course of Sir Kenelm's religious history was, in short, as follows: Roman Catholicism had, to use his own words, a right of possession in him from his birth. At some time which has not yet been ascertained he cast off his early faith and adhered to the Church of England. Early in 1636 he abjured the Church of England and returned to the Church of Rome, in which he continued until his death. Now the question is: What was the date of his first change? Is it "certain" that he came over to the Church of England when "very young," and that he was a subject of the careful tending and very great affection of Archbishop Laud between November 1616 and October 1621, that is, whilst he was Dean of Gloucester, the same prelate having previously reclaimed from Rome one of his near relations. From all that we have seen these statements appear to be mere imagination. Dr. Campbell refers to "Wharton's Troubles and Trials of Laud" as his authority. No vouchee can be more satisfactory. Wharton was not without prejudices, nor is his book without mistakes, but every one will admit him to have been a true scholar and an honourable man. All that Wharton states upon the subject is that Archbishop Laud in his defence on his trial enumerated various persons whom he had

* Ath. Oxon. iii. 688.

brought over from the Church of Rome, and among them he named a "Mr. Digby" who was "a priest." The whole passage is as follows: "Mr. Digby was a priest and Mr. James Gentleman a schoolmaster in a recusant's house. This latter was brought to me by a minister (as far as I remember) in Buckinghamshire. I converted both of them, and they remain settled."* There is nothing, it will be observed, about any presumed relationship between Mr. Digby and Sir Kenelm, nor anything to lead to the inference that the conversion of the former was a link between the latter and the Archbishop.

But what says Wharton about Digby's own conversion? When Digby was reconciled to Rome, in 1636, the Archbishop wrote to him a long letter of regret and remonstrance, which Wharton published. In the course of it there are many allusions to Digby's previous change from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. The Archbishop appeals to the arguments which had then weighed upon Digby's mind. He writes about them as one who had been familiar with Digby at that time, and had known all the circumstances to which he alludes. He contends that the reasons which were then operative still existed unimpeached. Digby asserted that he had learned that the Church of Rome left him free to believe or not to believe certain particulars which constituted a motive for his previous secession. Laud reminds him that the Church of Rome did not leave him free to disbelieve the things which it had determined, and inquired whether his former dislike was not grounded upon some things of that kind. Again, Sir Kenelm had remarked that his greatest difficulties as between the two Churches were solved, now that he could distinguish between the opinions of new men, raised

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, p. 227.

upon wrested inferences, and the plain articles of faith delivered at the first. The Archbishop appealed to him whether he could not make this distinction long before he joined himself to the Church of England, and reminded him that his dislike of the power claimed by the Church of Rome of adding new articles to the old faith was a leading motive which led him to his first revolt. Finally, when Digby argued that he had allowed himself, on the occasion of his first change, to be misled by a mere semblance of good reasons, the Archbishop answered, Why may not that which seems clear to you now be but apparent, as well as that which formerly seemed clear to you seem but semblance now? The double change established nothing but the fallibility of his judgment. His return to Romanism might be but a relapse into a former sickness, although he mistook it for a recovery from a former fall.* Throughout his letter the Archbishop treats Digby's adherence to the Church of England as the result of consideration and mental conviction. His arguments would lose all their force and meaning if it could be shown that Digby's conversion was not the action of a manly intellect, but the immature conclusion of a mere lad.

But we have more evidence upon this point than was known to Dr. Campbell. There exists in the British Museum a manuscript volume of Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby, which was published by Sir Harris Nicolas in the year 1827. (Lond. 8vo.) It is a book of a strange fantastic character; a history of Digby's courtship and final attainment in marriage of a celebrated beauty, related in the form of a romance. The places and persons mentioned in it are disguised under fictitious and occasionally fanciful names. This circumstance, and the long sentimental dialogues of which it is

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, p. 610.

principally composed, give it an air of unreality, but in substance it is true; the facts stated are those which the writer believed, and even the high-flown dialogues have a substratum of reality. The body is actual; it is the drapery only that is ideal.

In the course of this volume it is related that Digby was in Spain during the embassy of his kinsman the future Earl of Bristol in relation to the contemplated marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. Whilst there Digby was occasionally employed by his kinsman in the business of his mission. He made his way wherever he went, and in Spain he was peculiarly acceptable to the "Mufti of Egypt," under which disguise we are to understand the Archbishop of Toledo, the principal ecclesiastical dignitary in Spain. Digby himself states two reasons for this success: first, because, having been lately in Italy, he had there been acquainted with some of the Archbishop's relations; and secondly, because "their religion was the same." Again; Digby tells us that in the course of conversation with his relation the ambassador, he expressed his regret that Digby had been educated in a religion contrary to what "now reigneth in Peloponnesus," *i. e.* England; and gave utterance to a hope that they should not be long of different opinions, pointing out to him that he might thus obtain employment in the service of their royal master. Digby urged in reply the preference he was inclined to give to a life of retirement; "but for what you say concerning religion," he continued, "I shall say as you did, that I wish we may not be long in different opinions, but I mean by your embracing of mine, not I of yours." Here, then, up to the year 1623, Digby's twenty-first year, we have him decidedly a Roman Catholic,—a fact which gives pith to the reasoning of Archbishop Laud's letter, but blows to the

winds Dr. Campbell's theory of Digby's youthful conversion, and the care and very great affection of his early bringing up under the Dean of Gloucester.

These minute and uninteresting particulars have led us far away from the current of our narrative but they involve questions which must be followed out if our literature is ever to be freed from such fallacies as those of Dr. Campbell. We now resume our course under the safer guidance of Digby's own autobiographical memoranda.

In the summer of 1617, when 14 years of age, Digby crossed the sea and took a long journey "into foreign nations," in which he was absent "seven or eight months."* In whose companionship he travelled, or what course he took, we are not informed; but in his later books he is liberal in the introduction of anecdotes of his past travels, and from several of them it may be inferred that on this occasion he stayed some considerable time in Spain.

On his return, imbued, we may believe, with foreign notions, if not with foreign manners, he was sent, "about 1618,"† to Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, at that time one of the minor collegiate establishments at Oxford, where he was committed "to the care of Thomas Allen, but to the tuition of another."‡ Digby's pro-guardian was a man of considerable celebrity in his own day—one of those laborious inquirers who passed their lives in groping after philosophical truth, but discovered little because they sought it by means altogether mistaken. Allen's contemporaries spoke of him with superlative admiration. One designated him as not only the prince or Coryphæus, but the original and sun of all the mathematicians of the time;§ and

* Ashmole MS. 174, fo. 77. † Ath. Oxon. iii. 688. ‡ Ibid.

§ Burton's Orat. Funeb. Thom. Alleni, Lond. 1632, p. 6, quoted in Wood's Athenæ, ii. 542.

another termed him "the father of all learning and virtuous industry, and an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and sciences."* Such laudation is not merely excessive, but it tells us far less about the man to whom it is applied than we may gather from a single fact. Henry the ninth Earl of Northumberland occupied himself during his long imprisonment in the Tower, and after it came to an end at Penshurst, in gathering around him, for purposes of study and experiment, a band of men who were ardent pursuers of chemical and philosophical studies. Harriot, Dee, and Warner were leading members of this association, and so was Thomas Allen. Slaves to the prejudices of their age, the eminent endowments of these men in learning and ability did not preserve them from accepting the doctrine of astrological influences as the foundation of their inquiries, and seeking in the movements of the heavenly bodies for a clue to the accidents of life and the revolutions of nations. "Making guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars," they wandered from truth in their endeavours to approach towards it, and earned for the Earl the reputation of being a wizard, and for themselves that of being his attendant magicians.†

Such a man was not the best possible mentor for a youth of an active inquiring spirit. Nor was Allen likely to have been chosen in that capacity by Archbishop Laud. His love of the Church and of St. John's would have led him to prefer an ecclesiastic and his favourite college to an old astrologer and Gloucester Hall. The

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ii. 541, ed. Bliss.

† Raising spirits was managed by these men with a facility which may well excite the envy of modern experimenters in that branch of inquiry. Allen's servitor at Gloucester Hall thought it for the credit of his master to assure "freshmen and simple people," that he sometimes met the spirits coming up Allen's staircase like bees.—Aubrey's Lives, ii. 202.

y foreign tour, and the supervision of a gentleman full of old-world learning, and not likely to trouble himself about Digby's religion, point rather to maternal than to clerical superintendence. As a companion no one could have been more agreeable than Allen. Remarkable for cheerfulness and facetiousness, even when he had attained a very advanced period of life, everybody courted his society, and every college made a point of securing his presence on their gaudy days, whilst his long vacation was passed in a round of visits to great people, ever happy—as others are—to throw open their doors to a pleasant entertaining guest.*

Allen formed the very highest opinion of Digby's talents. The youthful ardour of his pursuit after knowledge won the heart of the old *savant*. He gave the young student the use of his books and instruments, initiated him into his secrets, and trumpeted him forth to the world as a universal genius. Digby imbibed Allen's opinions and was probably even influenced by the pleasantness of his manners, but did not stay at Oxford to take a degree. He remained there, as a gentleman commoner, for more than two years, and then again went to the continent. In this change we trace the influence of his mother very distinctly.

Digby was now verging upon manhood, and it is clear from the united testimony of his contemporaries and the evidence of portraits

* It is of him that a somewhat hackneyed story is related which we should not repeat but for the evidence it gives to the general idea entertained of the character of his pursuits. In his day pocket-watches were little known in remote districts. Visiting at the seat of the Scudamores in Herefordshire, Allen left his time-piece under his pillow. The chambermaids finding the thing, and hearing it cry tick! tick! concluded it was Mr. Allen's familiar. They determined to drown the infernal spirit, and canted it, with the tongs, out of the window into the moat. Unfortunately for their good intentions, the string by which it was suspended caught in an alder, and so, writes Aubrey, "the good old gentleman got his watch again." (Aubrey's Lives, ii. 203.) A watch, in all probability the very subject of this anecdote, was bequeathed by Allen to Mrs. Martha Anian, wife of Dr. Thomas Anian.—Will proved at Doc. Com. 26 Nov. 1632.

that a handsomer young fellow has been seldom seen. The hereditary good looks of the father were scarcely less conspicuous in the son, and in the latter, to a stature almost gigantic, there was added a winning voice, "a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language as surprised and delighted."* Gifted with such qualities, and endowed with many of the dispositions which are most attractive in youth, sensitive in honour and unquestionable in courage, it is not surprising that at an early age he became a subject of the tender passion. His affection met with a return, and the lady was on many accounts a singularly appropriate match. She was a daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, of Tonge Castle, Shropshire, eldest son of Sir Thomas Stanley, a younger son of Edward third Earl of Derby. Her mother was Lucy, daughter of Thomas Percy seventh Earl of Northumberland. "Truly," as Sir Harris Nicolas has remarked, "might Digby boast" that his Venetia, for that was the lady's christian name, was "born of parents that in the antiquity and lustre of their houses, and in the goods of fortune, were inferior to none in Great Britain." But considerations of birth or wealth were as nothing in comparison with the bodily and mental perfections of Venetia herself. All that in that age is recorded of female beauty is thrown into the shade by what we read of her. Not merely in the high-flown raptures of Sir Kenelm, but in the writings of some of the gravest of her contemporaries, it is admitted that by the beauty and regularity of her features, the perfection of her figure, the grace and elegance of her movements, the splendour of her hair, which Digby declares to have seemed "as though a stream of the sun's beams had been gathered together and converted into a solid substance,"† and above all by an intellect as clear as it was

* Clarendon's Autobiog. ed. 1843, p. 924. † Private Memoirs, p. 80.

s, and by manners soft but not weak, confiding and yet control-
, she commanded an admiration that was all but universal.
Unfortunately for Digby, her power was ineffectual in that very quarter where he would have most liked that it should have been triumphant. He was devotedly attached, but his mother was no less strongly adverse. The grounds of her dislike do not appear, but she did all she could to keep the lovers apart, and strongly urged upon Digby another match. To evade her "earnest and daily solicitations," he requested permission to complete his education abroad. His mother saw in the proposal a separation from Venetia, and perhaps also an escape from the contagion of Protestantism, and gladly consented to his removal from Oxford to Paris, from whence in due time he was to proceed upon the customary *grand tour*. Binding himself to Venetia, and she to him, by the most impassioned vows, he again left England, in April 1620.*

He remained for some months in Paris, and in the summer, to avoid the plague, removed to Angers. At the latter place he tells us that his constancy to Venetia was tempted by the Queen Mother Marie de Medici, under whose observation he was brought at a masqued ball. Flying from royal importunity, he spread a report of his death in a civil tumult, and escaped into Italy by sea. He remained in that country, chiefly at Florence, a considerable period. Thence he was drawn into Spain by the invitation of his kinsman the ambassador, as already related.

Digby's arrival in Madrid happened to agree within a few days with that of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham in their stolen match-making visit to the Spanish Court. A handsome

* Ashmole MS. 174, fo. 77.

young Englishman, acquainted with foreign manners and with the Spanish language, was an acceptable addition to the Prince's narrow household, and Digby was at once taken into attendance upon the heir to the English throne. His kinsman Bristol was not in favour with Buckingham, and consequently not with the Prince; but Digby's pleasant manners made him acceptable everywhere, and he kept his place, in spite of all disagreements.

In one of Sir Kenelm's books there is an account of an incident which happened at this period, and in which the Prince took part. Digby was particularly curious in investigating the cases of all persons who fell in his way who were in any degree physically remarkable. In the place referred to,* he tells the story of a deaf-mute, a distinguished person in the Court of Spain, a younger brother of the Constable of Castile, who under the teaching of a priest, and by dint of great natural quickness of observation, not only learned to speak "as distinctly as any man whatever," but also to "hear with his eyes" so as to understand so perfectly what others said, "that he would not lose a word in a whole day's conversation." Such cases were then extraordinarily rare, and Digby, who as a writer is always diffuse, dwells upon the wonder with proportionable minuteness.

"I have often discoursed with him," he remarks, "whilst I waited on the Prince of Wales (now our gracious sovereign) in Spain. And I doubt not but his Majesty remembers all I have said of him, and much more, for his Majesty was very curious to observe and inquire into the utmost of it. . . . He could discern in another whether he spoke shrill or low; and he would repeat after

* "Of Bodies and of Man's Soul," 4to. Lond. 1669, p. 320.

any body any hard word whatever; which the Prince tried often, not only in English, but by making some Welshmen that served his Highness* speak words of their language, which he so perfectly echoed that I confess I wondered more at that than at all the rest."†

Digby continued with the Prince throughout his stay in Spain, accompanied him on his return voyage from Santander, and landed with him at Portsmouth on the 5th October 1623. Attended by the Duke of Buckingham, the Prince immediately went on to Guildford, setting the kingdom, as he proceeded, in a blaze of joy at his return without a bride. The next morning early he reached the metropolis, and the same evening the two "sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso,"‡ threw themselves into the arms of their "dear dad and gossip."

Digby was unable to travel with such rapidity. "A great indisposition took him" as he set foot on his native soil. As soon as he could leave Portsmouth, he went across the country to Gayhurst,

* Sir Richard Wynne of Gwydir, afterwards Treasurer to Queen Henrietta Maria, was with Prince Charles in Spain, and wrote a narrative of what he observed in that country, which was printed by Hearne in his Historia Vitæ Ricardi II. by a monk of Evesham; Oxford, 1729. It was reprinted by Mr. Halliwell in his edition of the Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, ii. 415.

† It may be agreeable to some of our readers interested in this curious case of *vox oculis subjecta*, to read what succeeds the passage we have quoted above: "And his master himself would acknowledge that the rules of his art reached not to produce that effect with any certainty; and therefore concluded this in him must spring from other rules he had framed to himself.... The knowledge he had of what they said sprung from his observing the motions they made, so that he could converse currently in the light, though they he talked with whispered never so softly, and I have seen him, at the distance of a large chamber's breadth, say words after one that I standing close by the speaker could not hear a syllable of. But if he were in the dark, or if he turned his face out of sight, he was capable of nothing he said."

‡ Hardwicke's State Papers, i. 399, Letter of King James.

where his mother continued to reside; and on the 23rd Oct presented himself to the King at Hinchinbrooke, and received honour of knighthood, with many compliments on his learni Fortunately for him, the Prince and Buckingham were present the occasion; for such was King James's timidity in the use of t naked sword, that, not enduring to look upon it, he turned his fa another way, and in lieu of touching the shoulder of the knight-to-b would have thrust the point into one of his eyes. Buckinghan perceiving the difficulty, stepped forward and guided the roya hand.* Digby was about the same time also appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince.

The course of time now brings us to an incident which may well be looked upon as one of the turning-points of Digby's life. During his absence from England there had occurred between himself and Venetia many of those infinite mischances which ordinarily happen in romances, but not elsewhere. The false rumour of his death had travelled at the pace of all ill news. It found its way to Venetia with certainty and ease. But his many letters from France and Italy had all miscarried. The lady, on her part, after having been all but drowned in the very lowest depths of grief, had ultimately begun to find consolation in the attentions of another admirer, but he had proved unworthy of his chains, and had been cast off. Digby, on his part, deceived, as he afterwards believed, by false or exaggerated representations of Venetia's misconduct and unfaithfulness, abandoned himself to rage and despair, consigned her love-tokens to the fire, and forswore the sex. In the meantime the world was busy with the lady's reputation. She lived in London, apart from her

* Digby's Discourse on the Powder of Sympathy, p. 105.

father and her other relations, a life of dangerous independence, and was one of the attractions of the gayer part of what would now be termed "society." Clarendon remarks that she acquired for herself a reputation no less extraordinary than her beauty; others tell us that her lodging was a place of common resort for young men of fashion; and finally, an antiquarian gossip who loved to record the minutest incidents which came to his knowledge, whether exactly true or otherwise, says plainly that she had children by the Earl of Dorset, who allowed her an annuity of 500*l.** Such rumours did not of course tend to conciliate Lady Digby, who had a hand, as Sir Kenelm believed, in causing his letters to miscarry, and would probably have done anything else to keep the lovers apart. But "the stars who ruled their actions," to use the favourite language of Digby, had ordained otherwise. He did not return to London until near the end of December 1623. The day, as he tells us, was bright and mild, a winter's day on which the sun threw forth "more comfortable and glorious beams than it had done of many days before." Its beauty tempted "persons of quality to come forth in their coaches into the fields."† Among them was Venetia. Digby met her just as he was entering the town. The sight of her, reclining pensively in her carriage alone,‡ renewed all his former raptures. He sent his servant to find her out. He solicited permission to call upon her on the following day. He went to the appointment like the poor moth, "with resolution only to please himself in so fair a sight, deeming her unworthy of his more serious affection."§ He even showed how entirely he had given credit to the current rumours respecting her conduct, by treating her with a

* Aubrey's Lives, ii. 331.
† Private Memoirs, p. 201.
‡ Ibid. p. 202.
§ Ibid. p. 203.

freedom unwarranted even by their previous intimacy. With "noble anger and disdain she banished him from her presence, and it was a long time before he could take off that hard sentence, though he daily offered up to her indignation much sorrow and unfeigned signs of deep repentance."* In the end the humbled suppliant, or should we not rather say the insulted beauty, triumphed. In spite of the dissuasions of friends, and the remonstrances of his mother, they were privately married, and the marriage was kept concealed, even from the relatives of the lady, until the birth of their second child, which took place on the 29th December 1627.

In his Private Memoirs Sir Kenelm has vindicated his marriage by arguments which are strikingly characteristic. He urges strongly the intensity of their mutual affection, which he mainly attributes to "the stars;"† he triumphantly enumerates Venetia's admirable qualities, her noble descent, her beauty, the excellence of her wit, the sweetness of her disposition, and the soundness of her judgment, and scornfully contrasts a union with such a person with being "tied in perpetual chains to one of the vulgar stamp." He slurs over the imputations upon her former life as the "innocent error" of "indiscreet unstayed youth, or rather childhood," which "cast a mist over her judgment."‡ "I know the worst," he remarks, "that can be objected against her . . . and more than any man else doth; and if I err my judgment will be in fault as much as my affection. . . . Actions of this quality," that is, such as his marriage, "are to

* Private Memoirs, p. 205. † Pp. 269, 289.

‡ P. 276. He describes the same "error" in other places as "a little indulgency of a gentle nature which sprung from some indiscretion, or rather want of experience," p. 151; and again, at p. 273, "the sweetness of her disposition is such that, through the virulent malice of this age, it hath been the only cause of all her misfortunes."

be condemned in them that do them through infirmity and weakness, but not in those that do them out of a superiority and strength of mind; and I have so great confidence of myself as to think that my doing a thing of this nature should, to the vulgar sort, warrant the goodness of it. The best way to judge of any action is to inform one's self first of him who did it; for that may be a virtue to one man which in another may be a vice."* One scarcely knows whether more to admire the blindness or the self-conceit of a line of argument which would make female licentiousness blameless because it was practised by Venetia, and justify the selection of such ladies for wives by the example of Sir Kenelm.

The two or three years which followed Digby's marriage, although devoted almost exclusively to the society of his wife, are distinguished by one circumstance which has left an indelible impression in connexion with his name—his introduction to public notice of the "Powder of Sympathy." The story, as he tells it, is very unmistakeable.

James Howell, the author of the Familiar Letters, and of many other books, some of them extremely well known, coming suddenly upon two of his friends who were engaged in a duel, threw himself between them and received two desperate cuts from their drawn swords, one on the front and the other on the back of his right hand. King James I., "who much affected the said Mr. Howell," sent one of his surgeons to attend him; but after four or five days Howell, who had known Digby in Spain, came to his residence and prayed him to look at his hand, for "I understand," remarked Howell, "that you have extraordinary remedies upon such occasions." The hand was much inflamed, extremely painful, and threatened "to

* Private Mem. p. 278.

grow to a gangrene." Digby asked to have given to him any article that had upon it some of the blood which had issued from the wound. The hand had at first been bound up with a garter. Howell sent for that. In the meantime Digby called for a bason of water, as if he would wash his hands, and taking a handful of powder of vitriol dissolved it in the water. When the bloody garter was brought to him, he immersed it in the bason. Howell was at that time talking with a gentleman in another part of the room. Of a sudden he started. Digby asked him what he ailed. "I know not," he replied, "but I feel no more pain. Methinks a pleasing kind of freshness, as it were a wet cold napkin spread over my hand, has taken away the inflammation that tormented me." Digby advised him, since he felt already so good an effect of the new medicament, to cast away all his plaisters, and simply to keep the wounds in a moderate temperature. "After dinner," remarks Digby, "I took the garter out of the water, and put it to dry before a great fire; it was scarce dry, but Mr. Howell's servant came running that his master felt as much burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the heat was such as if his hand were 'twixt coals of fire. I answered that . . . I knew the reason . . . and that his master should be free from that inflammation . . . before he could return unto him. . . . He went, and at the instant I did put again the garter into the water; thereupon he found his master without any pain at all. . . . Within five or six days the wounds were cicatrized and entirely healed."*

The King, astonished at the cure, and having, as Sir Kenelm

* A late discourse by Sir Kenelm Digby, touching the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy. Lond. 12mo. 1658, pp. 10, 11. The Rev. S. Blois Turner, of Halesworth, F.S.A., very kindly presented the Editor with a copy of this book, which he has used on the present occasion. The early editions differ in some particulars from that of 1669.

assures us, "a particular talent and marvellous sagacity to discuss natural things and penetrate them to the very marrow," after some drolling, "which he could do with a very good grace, about a magician and a sorcerer," asked Digby what was his secret. Admitted to an acquaintance with the mystery, his Majesty made "sundry proofs" of his new power, and "received singular satisfaction" from the results. Sir Theodore Mayerne, the royal physician, finding the King practising with vitriol, applied to Digby for explanation, which he willingly gave him. From him the secret, which Digby professed to have received from a Carmelite who had brought it from the East, got abroad, and at the end of five and thirty years Digby remarked that there was scarcely a country barber but was acquainted with it.*

Upon this narrative it may be remarked, that it was not written until more than thirty years after the occurrence of the events to which it relates, a lapse of time which is quite sufficient to account for some of its more obvious touches of the marvellous. With respect to the cure itself, it is strange that the gossiping subject of it, who seems to have often racked his brains for a topic for a letter, never mentions it. He writes to Sir Kenelm with extraordinary deference, and refers to him always with the greatest respect, as to a person his superior in station and acquirements, but there is never an allusion to the Powder of Sympathy. Of the fact of the cure, or that Sir Kenelm accompanied it with the vitriol and the dipped garter, we would not be understood to express a doubt, but Sir Kenelm's theories respecting a sympathetic cause will not bear con-

* The subject of Howell's cure by the Sympathetic Powder was treated by Sir Walter Scott in note W to the Lay of the Last Minstrel; also by Mr. Pettigrew, in his book on Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery.

sideration for a moment. Without any of the pretended Carmelite's nostrums there is quite sufficient in the narrative itself to account for the cure. The severed parts had been brought together by the King's surgeon; he had also applied some stimulating plaisters which irritated the wound, interfered with natural attempts at adhesion, and caused pain; upon their removal the relief was almost instantaneous. Nature, set at liberty, proceeded in her own way to effect the cure, and would have done so if the vitriol and the garter had never existed. Such, however, was not the opinion of Sir Kenelm's contemporaries. King James probably thought it a wonder upon a par with the virtues of his own royal touch, and the world at large looked upon Sir Kenelm with a kind of awe.

Digby's position at Court for the first four years after his appointment was such that without a very considerable share of sound judgment and self-command he would not have been able to have stood his ground. During that time there was carrying on a thorough war between his kinsman the Earl of Bristol and the Duke of Buckingham; the one honest and independent, the other beyond comparison the most powerful, and probably also the most unscrupulous, of all the royal servants. Standing between these hostile combatants, each of whom was striving by all the means in his power to ruin the other; connected with one of them by intimacy and relationship, and with the other by his appointment at Court; even employed by the Earl of Bristol occasionally as a medium of communication with the King, Digby yet contrived to keep both his place and his friend without offence. The times were stirring. England was at war with both France and Spain, and consequently with the Netherlands. There were military and naval expeditions, and all the youth of England were on fire in the pursuit of glory; but, depressed by the

unfriendly greatness of Buckingham, to whom the name of Digby was as wormwood, and enchanted with his life as a husband, Sir Kenelm took no part in any active services. Nothing was offered him, and he did not put himself forward. His inactivity surprised his friends. The expectations that had been formed of his great qualities seemed about to be disappointed. The Earl of Bristol remonstrated with him. He defended himself by alleging that he was above fortune, which others had need of, and neither feared nor desired anything; that if employment were proposed to him he would not avoid it; and that his affection to Venetia would be no impediment to his undertaking any public and great action when he should see a fit season.

Although he thus repelled his relative's friendly inculpation, he was aroused by it. The feelings to which it was addressed had lain dormant, but were not dead. "After many discourses in his understanding, he concluded that it was necessary for him to employ himself on some generous action that might give testimony to the world how his affections had nothing impaired the nobleness of his mind . . . whereupon he resolved to undertake speedily something that might tend to the King's service, and gain himself honour and experience." This was the origin of the Expedition of which we now publish Sir Kenelm's own Journal.

The design was that of a general privateering voyage, similar to one which had lately been carried out by the Earl of Warwick; but with an ultimate, although concealed, intention to capture the French ships which were usually to be found in the Venetian harbour of Scanderoon. Buckingham had very much disliked Warwick's expedition, as emanating from the royal authority, and not from himself as Lord Admiral, but the power and public position of

the Earl of Warwick had sufficed to carry him through in spite of Buckingham's antagonism. Digby possessed but a small share of the Earl of Warwick's advantages, but Buckingham was now absent in the Isle of Rhé; so Sir Kenelm explained his wishes to the King himself, who not only gave him permission of absence, but promised him a commission under the Great Seal, and that it should be as ample as anything of the kind which "any gentleman of his quality" had previously had. Upon this promise Sir Kenelm made his preparations, and a bill for the proposed grant was drawn by Secretary Coke and signed by the King. But as soon as the facts came to the knowledge of the Admiralty, Edward Nicholas, Buckingham's Secretary, was up in arms. He called upon Sir Henry Marten the Judge of the Admiralty, and summoned the Duke's friends at Court, to resist the proposed infringement upon his master's jurisdiction, and especially to prevent the passing of such a grant during his absence. Some of the results of the opposition that was thus raised are very clear. The first who was called into council was Mr. Attorney-General Heath. He objected to the power given to Sir Kenelm to execute martial law. Thereupon the bill prepared by Secretary Coke was laid aside, and the King signed another from which the clause excepted against was omitted.* In the second place, Lord Keeper Coventry was consulted. He disapproved of many things. In conformity with his directions the Attorney-General prepared another bill to which the King affixed a third signature.† Hostile criticism had now proved thoroughly effective. The King's approbation of the intended voyage, and any sanction of

* Coll. Sign Man. Car. I. vol. iv. No. 5.

† Ibid. No. 26; and see State Papers (Pub. Record Office) Dom. Car. I. vol. lxxxiv., Nos. 42, 43 and Nicholas's Letter Book, Dom. James I. vol. ccxix., pp. 51, 64.

Sir Kenelm's designs beyond mere licence, was struck out. The expedition was carefully deprived of everything like a public character. The bill as it now stood was little if anything more than a permission to a gentleman who sought adventures to embark upon a voyage "for the increase of his knowledge, whereby he should be better able thereafter to do service" to the King and his realm, with a charge to his crew of obedience to their commanders whilst out of the King's dominions, under pain of the infliction, without saying by whom, of such punishment as Sir Kenelm should "see cause," and with a direction that proportionable partition should be made among the co-adventurers of any prizes which Sir Kenelm might take from the subjects of any power "not in league or amity" with his Majesty. In this form the grant was ultimately passed.*

It had scarcely done so when the Duke of Buckingham returned from Rhé. The ground had then all to be gone over again, and the terms were finally settled at an interview between the Duke and Digby. Digby took out Letters of Marque from the Lord Admiral in addition to his commission from the King. He also entered into bonds for the performance of the stipulations of his Letters of Marque, and signed some Declaration the nature of which does not appear. The last document took some time to prepare, and was not ready on the 21st December 1627, when Digby quitted London to take the command of his ships in the Downs, leaving behind a person charged to bring the important document after him.† On the day following the Journal takes up the narrative.

In an Admiralty Book containing minutes of Letters of Marque granted at this time‡ there is a notice of those issued to Digby,

* Rot. Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 3, n. 20, dorso. Fœdera, xviii. 947.

† State Papers, Dom. Car. I. vol. lxxxvii., No. 24. ‡ Ibid. vol. cxv., p. 95.

under the date of 13th December 1627. His two ships, the Eagle, of 400 tons, and the George and Elizabeth, of 250 tons, are both described as belonging to London. Sir Kenelm is stated to be the owner of both of them, and —— Milborne the captain of the Eagle, and Sir Henry Stradling of the other vessel. The Christian name of the latter captain was evidently either a clerical mistake, or an error in carrying out an alteration rendered necessary by a change of plan on the part of Sir Kenelm. The gentleman who really had the command of the George and Elizabeth, and who was not merely Digby's companion on this occasion, but his close friend for many subsequent years, was unquestionably Sir Edward Stradling, but he had a brother Henry, who also went this voyage with him. The clerk who made the entry of the Letters of Marque wrote at first "Henry Stradling, Esq^{re}," but afterwards, as if his intention had been to alter the entry according to what was the ultimate fact, he knighted the gentleman by inserting "Sir" before the Christian name, and converting the "Esq^{re}" into "Knight," but omitted fully to carry out his intention by altering the "Henry" into "Edward." Henry, it may be added, was a sailor by profession, and after this time had commands in the Royal Navy, but he did not become Sir Henry until 1642.*

Of Sir Edward Stradling we know but little. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Sir John Stradling of St. Donat's, in the county of Glamorgan, a man of considerable position and of some literary talent. He was created a Baronet at the institution of the order in 1611, and died on the 9th September 1637, when Digby's friend succeeded to the Baronetcy. In the civil war Sir Edward was a decided royalist, but his services were brief and unfortunate. He joined the King at Shrewsbury with 1,000 Welshmen. He com-

* Walkley's Cat. of Knights, 1658, p. 157.

manded them as Colonel at Edgehill, but was taken prisoner, and was confined for some time in Warwick Castle. On obtaining his release he went to the King at Oxford, where he died in 1644.* His intimacy with Sir Kenelm indicates the possession of something of his father's taste for literature, and there is one special fact connected with this Voyage to the Mediterranean which points in the same direction. Sir Kenelm was particularly delighted with Spenser's Faerie Queen. Ben Jonson alludes to this partiality in the poem from which we have already quoted. He bids Venetia go to her husband in his study, and salute him:—

> Say he be
> Busy, or frown at first; when he sees thee
> He will clear up his forehead; think thou bringest
> Good omen to him in the note thou singest,
> For he doth love my verses, and will look
> Upon them next to Spenser's noble book,
> And praise them too.

"Spenser's noble book" beguiled the occasional tedium of Digby's voyage in the Mediterranean. One passage in it of a very mysterious character—the 22nd section of the 9th canto of the 2nd Book—had been pointed out to him as "an indissoluble riddle." A solution in accordance with his own mystical notions had instantly flashed across his mind. In the course of his voyage this passage and its meaning had been a theme of discourse between the two knights in the cabin of the Eagle or as they paced the quarter deck. Digby explained his thoughts to his friend *vivâ voce*, and afterwards committed them to writing in a letter addressed to him "From aboard my ship the Eagle, the 13th June, 1628."† It was subsequently published

* He was buried in the chapel of Jesus College. The history of this family has been pleasantly illustrated in the volume of Stradling Correspondence, ably edited by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, Lond. 12mo. 1840.

† Harl. MS. 7375.

in a little pamphlet, Lond. 12mo. 1643. Without troubling our readers with Digby's occult notions of Spenser's meaning we may conclude that he would scarcely have presented them to Sir Edward if he had not known that he took an interest in such subjects.

Having thus brought down our introductory matter to the time when the Journal now printed takes up the history, we must leave our readers to pursue it in Sir Kenelm's own narrative. The voyage which is there described has been the subject of the same degree of misunderstanding as many other parts of Sir Kenelm's biography. The circumstances which induced him to embark upon it have been totally mistaken; not less so its design, and in some degree also its results. His exploits involved him in considerable trouble, their legality being a matter of dispute among persons in authority; but he was more than compensated by the credit which they obtained him with the people at large. Among them Digby's actions called forth but one voice, and that was in commendation of his daring and success. "In that drowsy and unactive time," remarks Lord Clarendon, the action at Scanderoon "was looked upon with general estimation." "Drowsy and unactive!" Did the noble historian forget that he was writing of a period in which England was at war with both France and Spain? Had he—alone amongst Englishmen—ceased to remember the expedition of Count Mansfeldt, and those to Cadiz, to Rhé, and to Rochelle, all which, as they succeeded each other, within three of the years which we are called upon to believe "drowsy and unactive," excited emotions of grief and shame from Berwick to the Land's End? Epithets more inappropriate could scarcely have been selected. But it did not suit the views of the historian of the Rebellion to admit that these early years of the reign of Charles I. were a time of unparalleled mismanagement, and consequently of terrible misfortune.

Disaster followed disaster without intermission. Everything failed. England was discredited, and Englishmen were dispirited. Even our ancient courage seemed to have departed from us. At such a time it is easy to imagine how grateful it was to every English heart to hear of Digby's successes. Men did not pause to weigh them in legal scales; official people might do that. It was believed that at Scanderoon there had been provocation which was followed by chastisement, a succession of seeming cause and effect in which there was sufficient general equity to satisfy the popular judgment. In Sardinia he had laid his ship close under the cannon of a fort, and had silenced it by driving the gunners from their walls. At Scanderoon he had attacked and defeated great Venetian galleazzes, at one time esteemed invincible. In both cases he had dared and he had succeeded. What might not have been accomplished—it was argued—if the same spirit had presided at Rochelle!

The manuscript from which we have printed is the property of William Watkin E. Wynne, Esq., and is preserved in the celebrated Library of Peniarth.* It is as we have before remarked entirely in the autograph of Sir Kenelm, and contains proof in subsequent corrections and additions that he kept it by him for some time after it was originally written. By placing it in the hands of the Camden Society for publication Mr. Wynne has made a valuable addition to our stores of materials for English History. Its publication must lead to a rectification of many errors respecting Sir Kenelm's Expedition, and will probably conduce some day to the writing of a complete Life of its singular and in many respects extraordinary author. What we have written, by way of giving

* A pedigree showing the descent of the MS. from Sir Kenelm to the present owner is given in the Additional Notes, p. 97.

our readers some insight into his character and his position at the time when he wrote Mr. Wynne's manuscript, may do some little towards showing that such a life of him if written by a competent historical scholar, in a proper spirit, and founded upon a consultation of all the many MSS. relating to him, could not be otherwise than a most important and interesting work.

The MS. is written upon paper of a foolscap size and bound in a parchment cover, which is indorsed in a large printing hand of the last century, now nearly effaced, "A Journall 1627, 1628, 1629, kept by Sir Kenelm Digby, and written by his own hand when Admiral in the Narrow Seas." This is an example of the many mistakes which are afloat concerning him. Every one who has written about him seems to have thought it his duty to make him appear to have been a much greater official person than he really was. He is persistently termed a Gentleman of the "Bed-chamber" instead of the "Privy Chamber,"—a very different thing; his office in connexion with the Navy is represented as one of high importance instead of being a mere supernumerary ministerial appointment in which he was altogether controlled by the Lords of the Admiralty; the office of Admiral of the Narrow Seas was one which he never held; and what are we to say to the dignities which are heaped upon him in the new French General Biographical Dictionary,—a work which is often extremely well-informed upon English subjects? He stands there as "*Intendant Général des armées navales, et Gouverneur de l'arsenal maritime de la Trinité.*"*

J. B.

18 Jan. 1868.

* Nouvelle Biographie Générale, xiv. 166.

JOURNAL

BY

SIR KENELM DIGBY.

JOURNAL OF SIR KENELM DIGBY.

A IOURNALL beginning the 22. day of December 1627.

THE 22. day of December, being saterday and the next after St. Thomas day, I begun my iourney towardes my shippes, which lay att anchor in the Downes by Deale; where after my arriuall, contrarie windes att south and southwest kept me vntill the 6. of January, which day (being sunday and twelfth day) the wind came in the morning att northeast, and about 2 of the clocke afternoone I sett sayle in the Eagle, and Sir Edward Stradling (being my Vice-admirall) in the Elizabeth and George of London, the rest of the straightes fleete and men of warre being gone 4 houres before vs, and then out of sight when wee sett sayle.

Whiles I remained in the Downes, on new yeares eve, a Hamburg shippe called the Hunter of about 160 tonnes came in by me, whom I made to cast anchor close by me, and sent some of my men abord her, and caused the skipper to come to me; who vpon my examination of him told me he came from Malaga and was laden with wines and fruite, and that he was bound for London; then I asked him for his cockets and billes of lading, which he shewed me, and they were all for Hamburg; but withall he told me that he carried those for his security onely, in case he should meete with Spanish men of warre, and that he had no letters of priuate aduise or other addresse to London more then secret and verball instructions to deliuer his goodes to one Mr. William Ashwell there. Whereupon I sent to

Mr. Strode[a] to London to inform himselfe throughly of the truth of this allegation; which he hauing done returned me notice that it was true, and then after a diligent search, to see if his lading agreed punctually with his billes (which I found it did), I did licence him to depart on the 5. of January, and by him writt to Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiraltie, to informe him what had passed, and to protect the skipper from a like stay againe if he should meete with other men of warre in his iorney to London.

All that night and the next day (being the 7. of January) the winde continued faire att north and northeast, and by morning wee were within 3 leagues of the straightes fleete; and after the morning, whereas before I did rather outsaile my Viceadmirall then loose to her, the rest of the day shee outsailed me somewhat, which wee attributed to the being then a lesse wind then before, which hath most power vpon least ships, and that the tide was then against vs, which had more power vpon my shippe then vpon the other, because it did draw 4 or 5 foote more water. And in the euening I mustered and distributed to their charges all my men, and caused my master to deliuer to them such orders as I commanded to be obserued in the shippe. The 8. my Viceadmirall and the Captaine and master of his shippe came abord me, the wind being almost fully calmed, and wee agreed together of the following pointes to be obserued betweene vs, whiles in the meane time by euening we were gotten within a league of the straightes fleete, and had the pointe of the Lizard faire in sight on the starbord bowe of vs.

The pointes which wee agreed vpon to serue for directions vpon all occasions in our intended voyage were as followeth, vizt.

1. That the Admirall so long as wee are in companie together (which vpon no occasion is to be broken vnlesse by foule weather) shall each seuerall night goe ahead and the Viceadmirall asterne.

[a] Probably George Strode, a merchant of London, to whom, with many others, a royal commission was directed on the 16th February 1627-8, to inquire what money had been collected by a per-centage upon shipping levied towards an expedition against Algiers. See State Papers of Charles I. under that date.

2. That each speake with other euerie morning and euening if the weather permitt, to the end that the Admirall may giue directions vpon emergent occasions.
3. That shippe in the day time which shall espye any saile vnto which chace shall be giuen, shall (being headmost) putt abroad his auncient vpon the poope and strike it three times, and the other answere with his flag.
4. In darke weather the Admirall to keepe light nightly vpon his poope, and if either vpon occasion do tacke or cast about in the night time, he that doth so to keepe out two lightes [a] till he be answered from the other by one: And if they shall trye or hull in the night, he that first doth so to shew three lightes,[b] one aboue the other two, and so to keepe them out till the other answere. And in resetting saile to shew two lightes [c] one aboue an other.
5. If wee should chance at any time to loose each other, vpon sight againe, the one to strike his toppesaile three times, and the other to answer by haling vp his foresaile, (but if it be no topsaile weather, the one to hale vp his foresaile, the other to answer with his mainsaile,) att the same time shewing his ancient abroad, and then the other to giue notice of vnderstanding the signe by putting abroad his flag.
6. If it chance to prooue thicke weather so that the one cannot see the other, then to shoote of a peece of ordinance, and the other to answere.
7. If either should chance to breake or spring mast or yarde or sustayne any leake or other damage or distresse, then to shewe three lightes [d] of æquall height fore and aft, and to keepe them out till the other answere him with one.
8. If it should fortune each to loose other before wee attayne vnto the height of Cape St. Vincent (in the latitude of 37 deg. and odde minutes) the one to stay there for the other in that height plying it about 25 leagues off and on from seabord within 12 leagues of the shore or sight thereof, for the space of 15 dayes; in which time if

[a] In the margin of the original manuscript there are inserted here rough sketches of two lanterns.

[b] Here occur similar sketches of three lanterns.

[c] Here similar sketches of two lanterns.

[d] Here similar sketches of three lanterns.

they meete not, then to enter into the straightes of Gibraltar and to stand away for Marueiles[a] and Malaga, and to visit that roade, from thence to the Iland of Alboran, and there to remayne plying betweene that Iland and the Barbarie shore for the space of 5 dayes, in expectance of the others companie. Which if yet he faile of, then to rune along the other coast to Alicant and to looke into that roade, from thence to plye it betwixt Iuersa and Mayorke,[b] and soe betweene Mayorke and the Ile of Cabreras. And from thence to the southermost end of the Iland of Sardinia. And so to runne along betweene Sicilia and Malta to the Iland of Ciprus, and there to stay att the eastward end of it or about that Iland, or to proceede from thence into the bottome of the straightes, as the principall Commander in that shippe shall thinke fitting and conuenient for the generall good of the voyage.

This same day I sealed to Sir Edward Stradling a deputation of being my Viceadmirall, substituting him Commander in chiefe in case of my death. By the setting of the first watch wee had fetched vp the straightes fleete and it continued calme all nighte.

The 9. day it continued calme till towardes euening, and then a fresh gale rose att northwest, a little before which time wee mett with a Flemish shippe of about 100 tonne which I made to come vnder my lee and the skipper to come aboord me; he shewed me his billes of lading which were to Roterdam, but the shippe was called the Blacke Horse of Scheydam; he was loaden with wines and was but few houres before licenced from an other English man of warre that had detained him all night and rummiged his hold and opened his letters, and suffered his mariners iniuriously to make pillage of much that he had.

The 10. day by daybreake wee perceiued a sayle (which afterwardes wee made to be a small Frenchman) and hauing a strong gale att east wee gaue him chace, and for 3 or 4 houres wee did fetch vpon him, he trying all tackes for his aduantage, but att length he steered west full afore the wind, and then he gott of vs, so that

[a] Marbella. [b] Ivica and Majorca.

in the euening wee left our chace, and steered on our course west-south-west.

The 11. day the wind blew strong att east, and in the morning wee perceiued 5 sailes comming towardes vs, which when wee came so neere that wee could hale them they told vs they were of Amsterdam; then I bad them lye by the lee, but they made all the saile they could to gett away, which wee perceiuing made all hast wee could to tacke about after them, but the sea went so high that it was long before we could make our shippe stay, so that wee had a stirne chace of it, which wee continued till night, they running north northeast, but then seeing they gott away from vs wee stood our owne course south and by west. That night wee sprung a leake on the starbord bowe in the pouder roome, so that wee pumped all night, 2,400 strokes a watch.

The 12. day the wind continued in the same place, and in the morning after wee had mended our leake we discryed 2 saile which when they came neere vs wee made to be Scotchmen. I sent for their Admirall, who being not in case to come abord me, sent me his commissions vnder the great seale of Scottland and the seale of the Admiraltie, to sett out to sea in warrefare; then I licenced him to goe his owne course.

All that night wee had a strong storme of wind att north and by east and a high sea, which continued all the 13. day, wee standing our course southward with what saile wee could beare. It continued also the 14. day till night, and the 15. day wee had a steedie fresh gale att northeast, and we steared south and by east. On the 16. day in the morning wee descryed a saile standing on her course north and by east, which, when wee were within a league of meeting, furled vp her maine saile, brought her spritsaile yard alongst shippes, and in warrelike manner fitted herselfe for fight, and then wee made her to be of about 500 tonnes, and her colors were of Hamborg. In like manner wee fitted our seluès for fight, which wee had no sooner done but shee made all the saile shee could to gett from vs, standing southeast in with the South Cape; wee

chaced her till it was darke, but then perceiuing she gott mainely of vs wee gaue ouer our chace, the wind blowing hard att north-east.

The 17. day wee came to the latitude of the South Cape of Spaine called the Cape of St. Vincent, the weather being calme till night, but then there came violent, suddaine, and dangerous gustes of winde, which continued not long, but ended in raine.[a]

The 18. day wee had like weather, the wind att northwest, and came in height of the gutt of the straightes which bore east from vs about 27 leagues, and then I called the Commanders in my Vice-admirall to come abord me to consult of our future proceedinges. That night there rose a strong storme of wind at north, and the next morning, being the 19. day, we descryed land, with which wee steered vntill wee came faire in sight of Cape Spratt,[b] Apehill,[c] and all the high land on the Barbarie coast, as also the land on the Spanish coast, and being at noone about 8 leagues from the entrance of the gutt wee stood out to sea till 4 of the clocke, the weather being almost dead calme, and then the wind comming att west north-west, wee made all the sayle wee could to gett through the narrow of the straightes that night, so to auoide being discouered by the shippes at Gibraltar, and to giue notice of vs vpon the coast. That night by 11. of the clocke wee had brought Apehill and the innermost point of Gibraltar upon our beame, and then being out of the narrow of the straightes wee stood east northeast close along the Spanish shore to come into Marbelas,[d] which wee brought vpon our beame by breake of day the 20. of January, but the winde was so directely from the shore that wee could not gett in, and seeing no

[a] The following is a note in the margin of the manuscript, "Here the wind is so vncertaine that sometimes I haue had a fresh gale att east, and my viceadmirall within a cables length of me hath had it att west, and it is continually shifting."

[b] Spartel.

[c] Abyla, the rock on the African coast which, with Calpe (Gibraltar) on the European side of the Straits, formed the pillars or columns of Hercules.

[d] Marbella.

vessels in the roade (which wee could plainely discover) we did not tacke about to come in, and the same reason detained vs from comming into Malaga roade, which we brought vpon our beame by noone, but at Velis Malaga,[a] ouer against which wee came by 2 of the clocke afternoone, seeing a shippe in the roade with a Hamburg colors, I made in towardes her, when comming neere her shee made a shott from me wardes, which I not answering, shee made an other att me with a bullet. Then I caused 3 to be made to her, of which one or 2 shott her through, and the like did my Viceadmirall, which I no sooner had done but shee shott againe att me 3 or 4 shott, and the like did the Castle vnder whose shott shee rode at anchor, which I perceiuing, and that shee was light loaden, and that there was no fitt proportion betweene the damage I might receiue and the good I might gett (for I could have from thence but wine and fruites, and an vnfortunate shott among my mastes might hazard the ouerthrow of my future designe), by the aduise of all my commanders I steered from the shore, and the wind rising fresh from thence, I was soone out of shott either of the Castle or the shippe.

The 21. wee had verie litle winde, and about noone wee discouered 6 sailes, with which wee made, and by 3 of the clocke wee were among them, whom wee perceiued to be English men, and with them one Fleming; then I putt abroad my flag, and all the captaines and masters came abord me, they being a fleet of merchant men bound homewardes, so that I writt by them, and the next day being a dead calme Captaine Steuens feasted me abord his shippe. And they having bin a long time from any port, and in great distresse for water and beere, I supplyed them with what I could spare.

The 23. day the wind came easterly, so that wee plyed to and againe along the Spanish shore, onely to keepe our selues from beeing driven backward.

The 24. day we descryed 3 sailes in the morning, to which wee

[a] Velez Malaga.

giuing chace, they all took seueral wayes, and I followed that which appeared biggest, and about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone I fetched her vp: then I caused the skipper to come abord me, whose name was Nicolas Paules, and the shippe the Gray Horse of Horne, of about 300 tonnes. After I had searched her and found her to be laden with salt taken in att the Iles of Yeres,[a] and to carrie some silke stuffes for Holland, I licenced the skipper to depart the next day, when att the euening there arose some easterly wind, it hauing bin a dead calme all that day and the night before. This chace carried vs south, in following which wee passed by the Ile of Alboran, and came within some 4 leagues of the Barbarie shore. And here I perceiued by our driuing westward a great distance whiles it was dead calme, that the current did then sett strongly out of the straightes, which I vnderstand is vsuall after settled Leuant windes. And all the while that I lay neere the Spanish or Barbarie shore, I obserued that once att least in 24 houres, and vsually about 4 a clocke in the morning, the wind came fresh off of the shore.

The 26. day wee were in the morning come againe in sight of the Spanish shore westward of Cape de Gatt, and descryed 2 sayles, with which wee made, and were up with them by 11 of the clocke. They were the Litle Saphire of London and a litle shippe of the west countrie, homewardes bound from Liuorno. Before wee parted with them wee descryed 2 other sailes with which wee steered, and for 3 houres neered them verie much, and wee could perceiue they were big shippes, and that one of them had spent her maine mast and sailed but with a iurie mast; but about 3 of the clocke wee were becalmed, and they had a fresh gale, so that by night they were gotten out of sight of vs.

The 27. day the winde continued still contrarie att east. About 10 a clocke before noone wee descryed 2 sayles with which wee steered, and were with them before sunnesett; they were two litle English shippes of a 100 tonnes a peece that had laden att Liuorno, and were homewardes bound for London. Now my men begun to

[a] Hyeres.

sicken apace, for 16 fell downe this afternoone. The course I tooke whiles the wind continued thus contrarie was to plye in to the shore att night, and att the morning off againe to seabord, so that no shippe scarcely could passe that way and misse my sight, the gutt of sea being here but narrow.

The 28. day standing in to the shore, and in sight of the Iland of Alboran, I descryed a sayle, with which I made, and shee stood off from me a while, which afterwardes I perceiued was but to fitt her selfe for fight, and, hauing done that, she bore vp with me; then I made her to be an English shippe of neere 300 tonnes. It was Captaine Michel in the Patience, who had bin att Tituan with letters from the King, and to restore some persons and artillerie iniuriously taken from thence, and was now bound for Argiers;[a] and by the way this obseruation is worthy noting, that, whereas all other shippes did runne from vs as fast and as long as they could, I yett neuer mett with any English, were they in neuer so litle or contemptible vessels, but they steyed for vs and made readie for fight: at night wee stood in for the shore hoping to reach Cape de Gatt.

The 29. it was a dead calme, and in the morning we descryed a saile, wherefore with all my boates I towed vp my Viceadmirall till being so neere that wee made one an other; then the master came abord me, his shippe being the Helene of London, who came from Livorne and was homewardes bound. By the way this I may note, that I neuer yet saw store of porposes playing, but soone a storme ensewed, for I haue not seene greater abundance then to day, and att night wee had foule weather (and lost sight of my Viceadmirall), which continued all the next day with a high growne headsea.

The 31. the wind slacked, but still continued contrary, and in the morning I recouered sight of my Viceadmirall. About noone I discryed 2 sayles with which I made, and before night I had fetched them vp and brought the masters abord me; they were 2

[a] So Algiers was at this time usually termed, or, as in The Tempest, Argier.

Fleminges of about 250 tonnes a peece, one of Inchusen the other of Horne: they had made ready for fight, and (as their manner is vpon such an occasion) their men were all drunke, so that they were verie vnruly and quarrelsome with my men that I sent abord him, which made me send more, to the number of 40, to master them, but my men were disorderly in pillaging their mariners' chestes and clothes, which vpon their complaintes I made be restored, and my people that were faultie to be brought to punishment; and the next day, being the 1. of February, I searched them and perused their letters and billes of lading, which I found agreable to their goods, that were salt, aniseedes, cominseedes, and corantes consigned to Amsterdam, so that the next day I licenced them, although in my priuate opinion I belieue they were faultie if I could haue prooued it, for after my men were abord them, they threw many letters ouerbord before they were aware, and in their iournall bookes I found mention of their hauing carryed munition and prohibited commodities to St. Lucar the voyages before, and they all had beades and Catholike primers, which when they saw vs they did throw ouerbord, and wee tooke vp floting in the water.

On the 1. of February aforesaid, being our Ladyes eve,[a] about 5 a clocke att night, I descryed 7 sayles comming along the Spanish shore. I stood with them, and hauing (as it grew darke) lost sight of them, yet hauing sett them by the compasse, by 7 of the clocke I was close by them. Their Admirall (which seemed to be a big shippe of 400 tonnes) shott a peece at me which grazed close by my stirne, but I returned him none, intending first to hale him, but then he went so fast from me that I feared he would haue gott away, wherefore I made 2 of my fore-peeces to be shott among them, to see if they would strike, but they returned me their broade sides, which detained their course, so that I came vp into the middest of them and singled out the Admirall, att which I shott not till I was within pistoll reach, then I gaue him my gunnes as fast as wee could discharge them, he doing the like with me, and all

[a] The 2nd of February is termed the day of the Purification of the Virgin.

the while my Vice-Admirall entertained some of the rest in the same manner. Then their Admirall haled me, and I did the like to him, causing my great shott in the meane time to cease. He told me he was of Horne, and I bad him amaine for the King of England; whereto he bad me come abord him, and att the instant shott 2 great shott, both which raked through my shippe. I then gaue ouer all other discourse but of my great gunnes, which wee plyed so well that by nine of the clocke hee begun to fall off from vs with his consortes, for wee missed verie few shottes, and at 2 or three of them that wee perceiued to come among his people wee heard them make lamentable cryes. Wee were then, much against our willes, forced to lett them goe away, for wee fought with the disaduantages of the night, and it being a head sea it was dangerous to bord, but that which was of greatest consequence was that I had not men enough abord me to vse our great gunnes and to trimme our sailes, so that if wee would wee could not in any time haue tacked after them, else I should not haue left them vntill I had either made them lye by the lee or sunke some of them; for I had neere 50 men sicke abord me, and almost 40 abord the Fleminges (which kept aloofe off as also Captaine Michell in the Patience), so that I had not 30 good seamen in my shippe, and I was fain to distribute my gentlemen to the seruice of the ordinance, and I had not then men enough to loade and putt out the gonnes, so that after neere 2 houres fight, and hauing giuen them betweene 60 and 80 shotte, wee lett them goe [by constraint, for, going to bring the shippe about that wee might giue him the starrebord broadside, wee brought her vpon the lee, and then wee had not men enough to till our sailes vntill the other shippes were gone past our discerning,][a] the moone being neere setting and the night ouercast. I receiued but 4 shottes through the hull of my shippe, one of which was through my owne cabin, and (besides the other) 2 shottes through the fore saile, and an other which passed close by my head and cut asunder the mizen

[a] The passage within brackets has been subsequently added by Sir Kenelm in the margin of the MS.

stay and the toppesaile halliardes, and wee had one man's arme shott off and an others eare. [In the beginning of the fight I had all my gunnes in, and all my sailes out (for otherwise I could not haue reached them), so that I suffred much for want of men before I could fitt the sailes and bring the gonnes to their due bearing, otherwise they should haue had many more shottes out of my shippe.[a]] The Viceadmirall, that was a litle further off, receued onely 2 shott, one in her fore mast, the other in her rudder, and had no men hurt. I imagine wee did the enemyes much hurt and spoyled many of their men.

The 2. of February I released the 2 Fleminges, and the wind continued still contrarie att east, so that wee were but ouer against Motevill.

The 3. the wind continued as before, and hourely my men sickned more of an infectious disease that tooke them with great paine in the head, stomake, and reines, and putrifyed the whole masse of the blood, and caused much vomiting, yet they dyed not soddainely of it, but lingred on with paine and extreme weakenesse.[b]

The 4th. day it was a dead calme, and the number of my sicke men was vpon the point of 60, and in generall all drooping, so that

[a] This is another passage added in the margin of the MS.

[b] In the Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby, published by Sir Harris Nicolas, there occur some striking remarks on the infectiousness of this terrible disease, with a notice of the calenture in which it terminated. "For the nature of it being such, that from those who were infected with it, it took hold of others that were in perfect health, like fire when it is joined to combustible matter, if they did but come within distance of each other's breath, or touch any part of their garments, it came to pass that in a very short time almost all were possessed with it, by reason of the great number of men enclosed in a small room; and, although every one strived to avoid those that were sick, whereby they died in much desolation without any help, yet the infection was so rooted in the ship that they could not fly from it; and if natural affection to his friend, or charity, moved any one to be so tender as to do another the offices belonging to a sick man, many times with a sudden death he prevented the other's languishing one, and by this means it happened often that dead bodies lay many days in their cabins and hamacas, nobody daring to go overlook them, and much less to throw the noisome carcases overboard, until their intolerable stink discovered them; but sometimes there were mean fellows that would come to

I was verie vnable for fight and scarce to trimme the sailes; whereuppon I resolued by the aduise of all my commanders (who deemed it an vndispensable necessitie) to putt into Argiers with the first good winde, and being in the roade to putt my sicke men ashore in fitting manner to be cured and refreshed, if att my comming thither I found no inconueniencie, and then to take that opportunitie to cleanse my shippes and to furnish myselfe with a sattie[a] and other necessaries, and to change my ballast.

The 5. day wee had a fresh gale att east, and E. and by S., and att the euening I sent in 3 shalloppes fitted with a brasse faucon in one of them, and a murderer in each of the other, and all with small shott, swordes, and halfe pikes, to range all along the Spanish shore, whiles with my shippes I kept within 2 miles of it.

The 6. day the wind continued east, and I stood for the Barbarie shore, with intention to anchor somewhere there if I could find a fitting place, to gett some reliefe from the shore for my sicke men. In the afternoone I passed close by Alboran, and the 7. day by morning I was close by a litle craggie iland about halfe a league from the shore. I sent my shalloppes out with leades to sound the depth and to see if there about were good riding: the water was all about deep enough, and it is a bold shore, and the ground a sandie oaze, but with the Leuant wind it was such a rolling sea that wee could

steal what they found about the bodies of those that were of better quality, and then by their own sudden death in the same place they would bewray their theft. But that which of all others seemed to cause most compassion was the furious madness of those who were near their end, the sickness then taking their brain; and those were in so great abundance that there were scarce men enough to keep them from running overboard or from creeping out of the ports, the extreme heat of their disease being such that they desired all refreshings, and their depraved fantasy made them believe the sea to be a spacious and pleasant green meadow. This extremity of evil taught the meanest rank of people what the noblest of philosophy can scarcely do to the most elevated minds, that is, a most resupine patience in their sufferance, the familiarity and inevitableness of which made them in the end not to apprehend or fear it." (8vo. Lond. 1817, pp. 311—313.)

[a] A small swift-sailing vessel, probably named from *satteau*, the boat used in the Mediterranean for coral fishing.

not ride there, so that towardes euening, after wee had sought long in vaine, wee stood out to sea, which when the inhabitantes saw they made fires all along the shore, which I was told was to inuite vs in, but withall I was informed that they were a treacherous and false people thereabouts. Now I was in such distresse with the sicknesse of my men, that it was all that both the watches could do together to tacke about the sailes.

The 8. day there rose a strong storme of wind at east, whiles wee plyed too and againe to keepe our owne about the Spanish coast.

The 9. day the storme continued still, and I tooke a view of my well men, the number of which did but æquall the sicke and dead.

The 10. day the wind lessened somewhat, but still continued east, and the Patience, that was in my companie, sprung hir foretoppe maste and maine toppe gallant mast.

The 11. day wee had litle wind and that att east, and my sicke and vnable men were aboue 80, so that in few dayes longer continuance in this maner of sickening I should not haue men enough to saile my shippe.

The 12. day it was a dead calme till towardes euening, then the wind came fresh att west, and carried vs on in our wished course off from about the lowe land of Rocquita, about which paralelle of longitude wee had bin beating 24 dayes with much sufferance through the infection among vs: about night wee descryed a saile, with which wee stood, but, growing darke, wee soone lost sight of her, and then wee returned to stand on our course: to day I brought my maine mast more forward, to see if it would mend my shippes sailing, for before it hanged so aft that the toppe gallant toppe was ouer the poupe. The current did all the time of this Leuant sett strongly out of the straightes mouth.

The 13. day the wind continued faire att west.

The 14. day att noone wee counted to be within 24 leagues of Argiers, and there rose a great storme att west and northwest, and wee, fearing in the night to runne beyond Argires, tooke in all our sayles, and did lett our shippe spoone away before the wind, and

then she made 7 leagues a watch; which perceiuing, and that so wee should yet be too forward, wee continued all night making seuerall bordes close vpon a tacke to delay our course; all that night it continued a furious and cruell storme of wind, with often and violent gustes of raine, snow, and haile, and so continued all the next day.

The 15. day by breake of day wee perceiued our selues to be within 5 leagues of the point of Argiers, with which we bore, making a verie litle saile, hauing lost my Viceadmirall and Captaine Michel in the storme in the night, and about noone wee were come to an anchor a little eastward of the mole end, and then I saluted the castle with 9 peeces of ordinance. Before wee came in the wind scanted much vpon vs, so that wee had much adoe to double the point, and then the violence of the storme caused vs to be in much danger, but my Viceadmirall that came in the next day was in farre greater, for, mistaking the place, they had embayed themselues in a rockie bay, and if the wind had not suddainely enlarged they had runne hazard of casting away. If I had stayed out 48 houres longer I had not had men enough to saile my shippe. The Patience came in 4 houres after me. I sent that day to the Bassa to haue a safe conduct to come ashore, but it was deferred till the next day, then the Duana being to meete of course, but then there was so much combustion among themselues about the displacing the Agaw (the principall officer next to the Bassa) that my businesse could not be treated of.

The 17. day they sent me two safe conductes, one of the Bassa the other of the Duana, and I came that night ashore to the English Consul's house, Mr. Friswell.

The 18. day I went to the King, who treated me with much courtesie. I told him that vpon confidence of the safe conductes which the Consul had sent into England from him to serue for securitie to our nation, I was come thither, and that my example, if I receiued good vsage, would bring many other English thither, and be the cause of a neerer correspondence for the future betweene the

two nationes. He assured me of all friendshippe, and told me he hoped the King of England would redresse some iniuries done to subiectes of this state by some of his. I answered him that my master would not faile of doing exact iustice whensoeuer complaint should be made to his Majestie and the offendors be found out: and in the meanetime I deemed it great iniustice for them to satisfie priuate wronges with the goodes and substance of such marchantes as had vpon their engagements and wordes subiected themselves vnto them; whereupon he promised that all former errors should be redressed, and the capitulations punctually observed. In the afternoone I went to the Duana, where the Aga sate chiefe, next him the Caya, and the gran Hogi (that is secretarie) paying the soldiors. After due cortesies passed, they assured me not onely of all iustice but fauor, and caused a proclamation to be made much to my aduantage, and to secure vs from the abuse of the barbarous people, and in euery respect made more demonstration then could be expected of their good intentions towardes me.

The 19. day the generall of the shippes and the generall of the gallyes visited me.

The 20. day the Cort Raez and the Caya (gouernor) of Sally (who was casually at Argire) feasted me.

The 21. day the generall of the gallyes feasted me.

The 22. and 23. many Captaines and of the principall men of the towne visited me.

The 24. day I came againe before the Duana, and the King came downe thither on purpose, and caused me to sitt by him (an honor which they did not to the French Ambassador when he was there not long before), and then they all swore solemnely that they would religiously obserue the capitulations, and that priuate wronges done to any of their men att sea by our men should not be righted by them vpon our Consull or marchantes here, whereby to interrupt the scale of trade, but complaint should be made to the King of England; and they deferred further discourse to a day that should speedily be appointed to have wronges debated on both sides.

The 26. day I went abord my shippes to see if they were cleansed fully and other thinges done to them as I had ordered.

The 2. of March I went to the King to intimate to him the wronges that our subiectes had received by theirs, and to desire accommodation of all thinges past, in which businesse I did the more willingly interesse my selfe because of the danger that our Consull there had lately bin in (for not six weekes before my comming he was brought out to be burned and harkely scaped, and would be in againe after my departure if I left not thinges settled, and for the hopes that I had of weauing into the treatie the libertie of the English captives there, which were about 40 or 50, and principally because I had priuate intelligence that the French vpon verie lowe conditions treated a peace with the Argire men with intention to joyne with them to ouerthrow the English trade in the Straightes, and the settling of our peace would ouerthrow theirs. Then the King told me that within 4 or 5 dayes the campe would be dispatched for Tunis (against which they sent an armie of 15,000 men), and till then it would not be seasonable to treate with them, whereupon I left solliciting it in publike, and all that while negotiated priuately to prepare the persons that were of most authority.

The 6. of March I went abord my shippes to take order for the suppressing of a designe that some of the men in my Viceadmirall had plotted: it was to lay a shippe that was bound for Liuorne aboord that night that her sailes were brought her to be gone, and so to steale her away. Vpon due examination I found that one Carueigh (who had bin purser of the Viceadmirall, but for his dishonistie had bin lately turned out of his place,) was the plotter and persuader of it. Whereupon I layed him in chaines for future punishment, and after a publike reprehension and admonition pardoned the rest.

The 12. of March (the campe being departed for Tunis) there was a Duana called on purpose att my sollicitation, and their 2 Muftis and Cadies (which are as their Bishoppes and Chiefe Justices) were called as assistantes. To whom my propositions were as followeth, viz.

That they would confirme all that was agreed of by them in the Articles and Capitulations of the Peace made Anno 162 .

That when their subiectes receiue losse by oures att sea, they do not come for satisfaction vpon our marchantes that vpon the engagement of their wordes haue subiected their persons and goods to their power, but in a legall manner informe our King of it, and ask justice of him.

That they permitt our shippes to come into their port and goe freely att their owne will, and that they take not their own sailes from them.

That our shippes of warre may come freely hither, and bring their prizes, and pay nothing but such dues as belong to the state for what they sell as by way of marchandize.

That satisfaction be made for the wronges they haue done vs.

That vpon the account of that (they being greater then what they pretend from vs) I may *de bene esse* haue away with me the Englishe captiues here.

The Bassa, Muftis, Cadis, and Duana answered that these propositions seemed reasonable to them, but appointed an other day to giue their finall resolution therein, and for the present some of their captaines that had bin iniured by our men att sea asked iustice against the English Consull, who had formerly obliged himselfe to giue satisfaction to one of them within 8 monethes, if in that time they had not satisfaction from England; now the 8 monethes and 8 more were expired, yett att my intreatie they gaue him 10 monethes more respite to informe our King and councell to haue redresse therein, and all the rest they referred to another day.

After many meetinges in Duana, and priuate negotiations, they dispatched me away with full satisfaction: they swore to the obseruation of the capitulations, they promised to repay (and settled it in a way) a great summe of money that the last Bassha before had taken from Mr. Frizel, and to restore 3 prizes taken by some captaines of theirs from some of my lord of Warwikes, and writt in a faire manner to the King for redresse of wronges done to them, and gaue safe conductes for any English shippes of warre or their prizes to come in

hither with all freedome without paying any extraordinarie duties, and to victual here, and lastly gaue me leaue to carrie away all the English captiues that remained here (which were near 50), paying onely the money they cost vnto their patrones, which formerly could not be effected, for these were the best and the vsefullest men they had, gunners, carpenters, and pilotes.

The 25. of March (our Lady Day) 1628, I came abord, hauing dispatched all my businesse on shore, and together with the Consul dispatched away Mr. Vernon for England with the Bassha and Duanas letters to the King, giuing also by him particular account to Sir John Cooke, secretarie of state, of what had passed here.

The 27. day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone I weighed anchor and sett sayle with a faire westerly wind, hauing agreed with my Viceadmirall to visit the east side of Mayorke, so to Minorke, and (if the wind came not verie faire to carrie vs for the bottome) to go thence to the Iles of Yeres to seeke for a sattie, the want of which I apprehended verie much.

The 28. I sailed on north, the wind blowing strong att west, and Captaine Michel (who came out of Argires with me, as also in,) parted with me to goe for Zant.

The 29. the wind continued in the same place, and by noone I came in sight of Mayorke: towardes euening I descryed a saile standing in for that place, wherefore I stood to intercept him at his comming in betweene Cabreras and Mayorke.

The 30. wee had the wind still westward and southerly, with which I sailed round about Mayorke on the south and east sides close to the shore, and about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, as the furthest point eastward opened to vs, wee descryed a shippe riding att anchor in the bay of Alcuda. Wee were vpon her so of a suddaine that she could not weigh anchor, but cutt her cables and loosed her sailes to be gone from vs, but wee plyed our great shott and small shott so well that we cut her toppesaile halliardes, and kept her men from comming vpon the deckes to mend them. Then I soone borded her on the starrebord quarter with my shippe, and I

entered about 60 men, which fortunately received no hurt, for when he went to fire his pouder chestes that were on the deckes they would not take, but in the meane time, as I lay bord and bord, they shott four great ordinance that raked through the fore part of my shippe and did some hurt. By that time my men had cutt open the hatches, and then the Frenchmen yielded, and I tooke order that after that time they had no more hurt. As I lay by her and shott her through, my Viceadmirall being in the same line with her, some of my shott had like to haue done mischiefe there, and one great shott neerely missed Sir Edward Stradling.

This flyboate was of St. Malos, called the White Lyon, a Dutch built and of about 250 tonnes burthen; she had in her 30 men, the Captaines name , and the masters .

She had in her about 25 bales of linen cloth and canuas, and some other thinges of small value, and 6 good sacre and 2 minion, and was verie well fitted with ground tackle. She was to lade oyle att Mayorke and was fraighted from Alicante.

That night the wind blew verie hard and I anchored in the bay.

The 31. day I spent in mending the prizes boatespritt (which was broken) and fitting her vp to saile with me, and I made her my Rereadmirall, placing Mr. Henry Stradling captaine in her, and the seamen among them named her the Hopewell. I did putt betweene 40 and 50 men into her, and in the euening I gaue the French Captaine his owne boate to sett him on shore, and gaue him and his companie all their owne clothes that I could gett out of the sailers handes, and gaue them victuals for a day or two, and £5 of money, which was all the coine I had, and so he parted verie well satisfyed from me, and I kept with me 12 of his men, which I distributed into my 3 shippes.

The 1. of Aprill, the wind came att east, and I steered straight for the neerest part of the Christian shore, and I displaced my gunner for several insufficiencies (and in particular for great defects in the last fight), and did putt another able man in the place. The same day about noone, the wind being calme, I descryed a sattia about 2

leagues of, to the which I manned out 2 of my boates with some 35 men, and a brasse fauconet and a murderer, and good small shott, swordes and halfe pikes, but before they could rowe to her the wind freshed and shee sailed away. The boates had not bin long returned when I perceiued an other sattia close by the shore of Minorke in the bottome of a bay, and could not dubble the point to gett from vs. I sent my boates off to her, but her men haled her so deepe into a creeke, and about 100 small shott and horsemen vpon the shore (from whence they might kill our men with stones if they came in, it being a high cliffe, and wee not hurt them,) guarded her, so that, after exchanging a few shott, my boates came away and left her, and were no sooner abord but wee saw the sattia againe vnder saile, for when wee were come with our shippes as neere the shore (to succour our boates with the great ordinance) as wee could, for feare of being embayed (it being a lee shore) wee then lay vpon the stayes, so that in the meane time the wind droue vs so farre leeward beyond the N. point of the west end of the ile as wee could not dubble it to follow her, therefore we continued our course att N. E. by N. for the Iles of Yeres.

The 2. day the wind came northerly, and about noone wee descryed a sayle standing with vs; as he neered vs wee made him for a Frenchman, and he sprung his loofe[a] and went as neere the wind as he could; towardes euening it calmed, and wee lay faire in sight of one another, but att night the wind freshed and we had then (by darkenesse) lost sight of her, yet wee stood as shee did, which was E. N. E. hoping to see her againe by morning. But in the night wee had violent gustes of wind and raine, and in the morning, there being little wind westerly, and it being a growne sea comming from the north, wee made no way in our course towardes the Ilandes of Yeres, whereupon I altered my course and stood afore the wind the 3. day, for the S. end of Sardinia, but before noone the wind came southerly againe, and then wee stood as before N. N. E. But it continued not so long, but came at N. and N. W. with great violence, and with raine and haile, so that when I was about 30 leagues from

[a] *i. e.* luff.

the ilandes, I altered my course to S. E. and stood for Sardinia, hoping for some sattia or such vessell about the Ile of St. Peters or the Bay of Cagliari. All the while we were in the Gulfe of Lyons wee had verie vncertaine weather, and great and suddaine gustes, and exceeding cold, and seuerall courses of the sea in the same place.

That night and the 4th day wee had a great storme of wind, before which we went flying with onely our fore course, with which wee went about 60 leagues in 24 houres. That afternoone we saw land of Sardinia, about the middle of the W. side, all along which wee sayled, till att night, comming by the Iland of St. Peters, wee lay att hull and with our sayles vpon the backe stayes till morning, the 5. day, and then wee haled in close by the shore, and a litle off the W. point wee descryed a boate vnder saile, to which I manned out my boates. Then her men ranne ashore, and before my boates could come in shee was halfe sunke; shee had litle of value in her.

By and by wee descryed a sattia in a bay westward of the Bay of Cagliari. I sent my boates to her, and went in as neere as I could with my shippes to defend her [*sic*] from violence on shore. She lay vnder command of a towre which shott both at my boates and shippes [and wee att it[a]], but they went on shore, and, entering the sattia, found her old and vnseruiceable and much hurt with running on ground, and they that were in her had taken out all her sailes and what else she had in her.

Then we stood on and visited the Bay of Cagliari and the Bay of Salinas; in the first of which we saw 5 shippes ride at anchor close vnder the cittie of Cagliari, where on a platforme I had intelligence there lay planted 12 brasse peeces, besides much ordinance in the castle, which together with our being descryed there made vs attempt nothing in that place. In the Bay of Salinas wee saw nothing, but in the beginning of the night I sent of my boates, well fitted, betweene the maine and the Iland of Serpentera, whiles I stood on the outside with my shippes. Within, in the bay, they found by the shore a fisher boate with 6 men asleepe in her; with the noise of their

[a] An after insertion.

bording her they awaked, and 5 leaped ouer bord, thinking our men had bin Turkes; the other we tooke, and he gaue vs notice of seuerall vessels in the bay, but that they rid vnder watch towers, the least of which had 3 brasse gunnes in them: they sett the man on shore, and brought off the boate, which was loaden with mullets and excellent fish, and was the best rower that euer I saw.

In the morning the 6. day, about breake of day, I sent in my boates againe and stood in with my shippes, and one of my boates layed a Marsilian sattia abord that rid att anchor by the shore loaden, and towed her off; the other layed a fregate abord, and towed her off, that had neer 20 tonnes of wine in her, and all this while the fortes played vpon the boates and our shippes: then perceiuing a great and faire sattia well appointed riding close vnder one of the strongest fortes, I iudged she had good lading in her; wherefore I fitted out my boates againe, and my selfe to encourage my men went abord my Rereadmirall, because shee was a flotie shippe and drew but litle water, and sailed in close vnder the fort neere within muskett shott, and there I cast anchor, whiles the fort played as fast as it could vpon me and I the like vpon it, and in the meane time I sent off my litle boates to bord the sattia, which they att first went slowely vpon, but my calling to them and example of like danger preuayled with them, so that at length they went brauely on, and borded and driue [*sic*] out a great many that were in her with store of small shott, and towed her off, hauing onely 2 men killed outright and 6 or 7 wounded. By that time I had with my shippe beaten them from their gunnes in the fort, and the sattia being off wee weighed anchor and came off likewise; it hauing bin of all sides a verie hott seruice for the time.

I had scarce gott my fleete out of command of the fortes and free of the ilandes but I descryed a saile standing towardes me, but when shee came neere she tacked about and stood away, but with my sattias I soone fetched her vp, and without stroke or shott shee yielded. Shee was a Fleming, and laden with Spaniardes goods from Naples, and had brought corne from Apulia thither, and the

skipper told me that not aboue 7 or 8 leagues behind him came 4 rich Marsilia shippes from the Leuante, wherevpon I shortened saile all that night, and the next morning, the 7. day, by breake of day, I descryed 2 shippes standing with me. When wee were come somewhat neere one an other they tacked from me, and I gaue them chace with all my fleete, of which some fetched vpon them, but it was so dead a calme att the last that I sent off all my shallopes to towe on the headmost shippe, which was the Rereadmirall, and was almost within shott. But then after an houre the wind freshed, and all the shippes stood after our chace, till I perceiuing he gott of vs, and by chance discerning 3 boates rowing farre leeward I tacked about to them, and in a good houre for them, for I saued so all my shalloppes and one of my sattias that was verie leakie with running on shore, and stayed for Captain Woodcocke (who was the sternemost in my Flemish prize), and I stood on with a litle sayle towardes our rendevous on the cost of Sicily, whiles it seemeth my Viceadmirall, Rereadmirall, and bigger sattia stood after the chace. But that night there rose such a storme of wind as separated Captaine Woodcocke from me (who towed and had lost my Rereadmirals shallope), and, least I should loose the sattia, and not being able to unlode her, though seuerall times I attempted it (of which I was preuented by following the chace), I towed her att my shippe, together with my great shallope, which in the night broke off, and I lost it with a man and a brasse faucon in it, and soone after the sattia broke of with 8 men in her, and it was such a storme and so high a growne sea as I could not relieue them, but in the morning, the 8. day, they found meanes to beare a litle saile, and I spooned before the wind till I came to Maritimo (a litle iland on the S. W. end of Sicily), but there I could find no anchoring, so that I sailed on till Fauigniana another iland by it, where close vnder the shore, and verie neer to the maine of Sicilie, I cast anchor. Yet such was the storme as I could not take in my men nor vnlade the sattia, but as shee drove by me I cast her out roapes, and then with 2 hausers and a litle cable I moored her att my stirne, whiles I rid in much danger, for the storme was

violent, the sea high, the ground foule and rockie, and if my ground tackle should faile the wind was verie scant to bring me off of the lee shore. All that night the storme continued in great violence, and the sattia rolled so as euerie time shee tooke in water, wherefore I called out to the men in her to cutt her mastes by the bord, which they did, and then shee made a litle fairer weather, but shee was so leakie, and the storme so great, that shee was not able to hold out long, but about the middle of the second watch the men in her cryde out for helpe, that shee was sinking. I made her straight to be haled vp to the shippes side, where, beginning to vnlade her, I had not taken out aboue 10 clothes but she began to sinke, whereupon I cutt the ropes that held her, and with much adoe saued my men. She was certainly verie rich, for she was deepe laden, and full of chestes and drie fattes, and cloth was of so litle value in respect of the other commodities that it lay loose and exposed to the wett. She was of burthen neere 40 tonnes. In the morning the wind was so great as my master said he had neuer felt so much. Then we were in much danger, for we knew not the ground, but by our lead it appeared foule and rockie, and if our anchor hold and ground tackle had failed, no industrie could haue preserued vs from running on the shoules on the lee shore [on which wee saw the sea breake a leage from land.][a]

All the 9th day the storme continued, but aboute 4 a clocke afternoone the wind came a litle larger, and wee tooke the benefitt of that snatch and weighed our anchors, which had taken so fast hold in the earth (which proued good where our anchors fell) as wee thought wee should haue bin constrained to cutt the cables, but much paines preuailed and by 5 a clocke wee were vnder saile. By the way this is worth obseruing, what a difference of state 2 dayes wrought in vs; for on the Sunday night I had a fleete of 7 sayles, and had taken so much as I am confident would haue payed my charges of the voyage and haue left a good ouerplus, whereas now I was but one shippe, and wee had hardely scaped with our liues, and

[a] The words within brackets added afterwards.

were verie weakely manned (for all my best men were abord my prizes) and before my eyes had lost one of my prizes, and was in much doubt of the other sattia, wherein Mr. Healey was, and no lesse of the Dutch prize, wherein I had putt Captaine Woodcocke, and my wine prize was left afloate but halfe vnladen, and I knew not where to meete my Vice and Rereadmirall; for vpon this occasion wee had failed of appointing a rendezvous beyond Sicilia; to witt, being att Mayorke, if stormes should seuer vs, wee appointed to stay for one the other vpon the coast of Sardinia, and so to go to Sicilie. Here wee were busied a whole day in taking prizes, the next day I had resolued to call a generall councell, and to sett downe orders for our future proceedinges, when by breake of day the sight of 2 shippes called vs to chace, which if I had followed so long as my companie would haue had me, I had lost all my shallopes, and the men in them and in the sattia, and Captaine Woodcocke, for whom I stayed till he was close by me, and therefore do much admire how he lost me, for I carried out 2 lightes all night both for him and the other shippes.

The 10. day we had a faire gale of wind at west northerly, with which wee haled close along the coast of Sicily, and by sunne sett wee were euen with Cape Passer, where vnder the castle wee descryed 4 shippes att anchor. The beginning of the night I carried out three lightes fore and aft, that if I passed by my consortes they might see them; and shortened saile, least before morning I might ouerslippe them.

The 11. day the wind continued as before, and about noone I descryed a shippe plying to gett into the fare[a] of Messina. I stood with her, and shee as boldely to me, and fitted her selfe in euerie point for fight. Being neere her, I haled her, and the captaine told me he was of Alcmær. I desired him to come abord, that I might see his commission and billes of lading, but he told me he would not; and when I warned him that if he did not come I would shoote att him, he said he would defend himselfe the best he could: where-

[a] The Strait of Messina.

uppon I gaue him a broade side, and then he strooke his toppesailes and lay by the lee. He confessed that he had laded corne att Barleta in Apulia, and was to carrie it to Naples. He had 13 peece of ordinance, good gunnes, and was of burthen vpward of 300 tonnes. He said he tooke my shippe for a litle one att the first, and meaned to haue done by me as I did by him, and att last would haue fought, but that his men forced him to yield.

I came that night in sight of Cape Spartauent, and lay by it all the next day, hoping to haue newes of my fleete, and landed there 7 Spaniardes that I had taken out of the prize wherein I had putt Captaine Woodcocke: and att the euening I sett sayle for Zant, where I entended to sell the corne of the prize, because shee was so leakie as was a great cumber for me to haue her with me till shee were vnladen and mended thyte.[a]

The 13. day, being Easter day, wee held on our course for Zant, the wind being att S. W. and with halfe my sailes I out went my prize.

The 14. day it was for the most part calme, and that wind which blew was verie scant. About 3 of the clocke afternoone (being in sight of Cephalonia) I descryed 2. sayles plying to windward for Zant; I stood with them and they came roome with me. As they came neere I made them for my Viceadmirall and Rereadmirall, and made the signe to them as wee had formerly agreed vpon, which in due manner they answered: when they were come faire by the lee of me (neither of them hauing a boate) I went abord the Viceadmirall, and there I receiued newes how they missed taking the shippe they chaced (which parted vs) onely by their being much out of trimme, by reason of wines they had taken in the day before and that were not then well stowed; but they knew nothing of Captaine Woodcocke, or the sattia, and as they rid att anchor vnder Cape Passer they missed taking a polacra and 3 and 4 sattias onely for want of boates; which defect also made the Rereadmirall suffer much for want of victuals and water, the Viceadmirall being not

[a] tight.

able to furnish her till one faire day that they came bord and bord one another.

The 15. day wee saw Zant, and it was calme all day.

The 16. day it was all day a dead calme; and I made a generall search through my fleete, to see what was purloined by the saylors vnduely out of the prizes I had taken.

The 17. day wee had a faire gale, and standing in for Zant wee descryed 2 shippes plying to windward. Wee steered to them, and the biggest of them stood with me, and was Captaine Trenchfield in the William and Ralph, who came from Zant and was to goe for Venice; the other was a Venetian that stood along the shore, whom my Rereadmirall chaced, and comming vp with him (hauing his colours out and the Venetian none,) he haled him. The Venetian bad him peremptorily come abord him, whereupon they exchanged some shott, and the Venetian (whom the Rereadmirall knew not, but Captaine Trenchfield gaue me notice of him,) ranne into the harbor att Cephalonia. Captaine Trenchfield told me that my prizes were both safe att Zant, and that he had taken a prize of corne and newly sold it there; which (together with other reasons) made me judge fitt to putt in first at Cephalonia.

The 18. day in the morning (hauing stood off all night,) I came to an anchor in Cephalonia roade, and sent to the Proueditore to giue him notice of my arriuall, who immediately gaue me free prattike[a] for my selfe and shippes; a thing vnheard of in these partes, and att the same time an English marchant shippe lay in the harbor that had bin here a fortenight and yet had no prattike, although he came but from Zant, where he had full prattike. That night I dispatched away my Rereadmirall to Zant to Captaine Woodcocke and Mr. Healey to bid them make all possible hast to me. The newes of my Rereadmirall fighting the day before with the Venetian shippe caused the Generall of the States Gallies (of which there were then here and at Zant 11,) to send out 2 to see who I was. When they came neere me, they saluted me first, with their ordi-

[a] *Pratique*, a permission to trade and have free intercourse with the inhabitants.

nance, which I returned to them, and sent my boate abord the Admirall with a complement, which was well taken and the beginning cause of their extraordinarie courtesie to me.

The 19. day I came to an anchor within the harbor, and treated with the Greeke marchantes concerning the saile of the corne I had taken.

The 20. my shippes came in from Zant, and wee concluded the bargaine for the corne, which was att a better rate then Captaine Trenchfield had sold his at Zant, and was to be measured and the money payed abord.

The 21. wee began to vnlade her, and I was entertained on shore by the English marchantes, who had prouided and furnished a house for me. After that I lay nightly on shore, and in the day attended to the dispatch of my businesse, the maine of which was to dispose of my prizes, to fitt the shippes that I kept to go forth, with sailes, yardes, and many other defectes, to cleanse and tallow them, and to buy boates, hauing lost mine att the sea. The pinke which Captaine Woodcocke was in was laden with pipestaues and hoopes, which were combersome to putt into any of my shippes, and to keepe the shippe was verie inconuenient, for she had no force in her, was old and rotten, and I wanted men to putt in her, therefore by aduise of my captaines, masters, pursers, and boateswaines, I sold the goods in her, and, intending to giue the skipper his shippe againe (which had bin employed the returne before in the same voyage for corne from Apulia to Naples), I was forced also to sell her to the marchantes, who would not otherwise haue bought the goods. And the sattia being laden with oyle, wee could find no meanes to send it for England, nor were permitted to land it on shore in expectance of an opportunitie, and to carrie it with vs would be verie inconuenient and certaine losse; whereupon, with aduise as before, I sold it to the marchantes here, together with some other triuiall thinges in her. And other thinges that I had which would vent better in that place then in England, and were troublesome to carrie with me, and begun to perish and suffer

damage, I also sold; the pursers and boateswaine keeping account of all.

But vpon this, some ill-disposed persons in my fleete tooke occasion to sowe mutinous discourses, alledging that they would haue the sale of thinges carried wholy by the companie in generall, and that they would immediately haue their partes and shares of the money; but I, perceiuing that this proceeded either from some that were discontented because they were not preferred to such places as they expected (wherein they were verie partiall iudges of their owne merits), or from others that desired money to supply their present dissolute spending in port, I vsed my best industrie to settle these commotions by standing vigorously vpon the force of my commission, and maintaining it with resolution and a strong hand to the former, and by employing the other in such dayly worke as might make them forgett the shore; and to this end the 23. day of Aprill I called a generall assembly abord my shippe of all my men to heare their propositions, which I peremptorily refused to condiscend vnto, and represented to them (besides the danger) how much vnmannerlinesse it was to allott the King and my Lord Admirall their partes before they knew what wee had taken, and to precede them in the shares: so that in conclusion I flatly refused all they desired, and assured them that if any man did vse any more such seditious speeches, I would send him into England with a complaint to the court of the Admiraltie, there to be punished for his misdemeanour. The next day, perceiuing that my former speech had quite putt them off from their vnreasonable demandes, I called a generall assembly, and gaue them the strongest assurance I could that I would carrie all thinges euenly and to their best aduantage, which I did in such a manner and was so vnexpected to them that it wonne much upon them, so much that then they referred all thinges to me, and in euery particular exceeded my desires; such is the effect of gentlenesse and faire wordes after rigour vpon a iust ground, with the vulgar.

The 1. of May I called a generall councell of all my commanders

and masters to heare Captaine Woodcocke defend himselfe of many aspersions layed vpon him, that he had imbezilled away much of the goods that were in the pinke that I placed him in. The testimonyes of many came in against him, but they concluded not vpon certainetie but surmises, yet such as I could not free him from much faultinesse: but the maine author of all the disorder was one Tillingham, a quarter master in my shippe, whom I putt the first night to looke to the hold: but in steed of that, in the night he broke it open, and to engage the rest of the companie in the concealing of it, he was a meanes that all the goods of value were shared among the companie, which they had sould att Zant before my meeting with them. Therefore I did putt him in chaines, designing him to be sent as a delinquent to Sir Henry Martin, by the English shippes that were then in the port bound homewardes. And Captaine Woodcocke desiring licence to returne home I gaue it him, he giuing me his word that he would be readie to answere any thing that he should be charged with att my comming home. But as he was vpon departure, the English marchantes, by my leave, employed him in a vessell of theirs; [but new occasions diuerted that employment.[a]]

The 6. of May I deuided all my company anew into my fiue vessells, to witt, 98 into the Eagle, 70 into my Viceadmirall, 45 into the Rereadmirall the Lyon, into the Hopewell 35, and into the Swallow, the sattia, 22; all these English, besides Fleminges, French, Greekes, and Italians.

The 12. I sent to the Proueditore to acquaint him with what I had done concerning the Dutch prizes, and to shew him my commission, which was vpon this occasion. The skipper of the corne prize, being a factious and seditious man, had bin the causer of many disorders, both among his owne people and mine, for which I reprehending him, he did maliciously goe to informe, first the Generall of the Gallies, then the Proueditore, that I had treated him in a verie ignoble manner, and was but a pirate hauing no commis-

[a] Afterwards added.

sion, and therefore besought them to arrest my shippes, and to cause the deliuerie of his shippe and goods to him. I had, to gratifie him (as in euery thing I vsed him and all his people with much gentlenesse), giuen him liberty to remaine on shore when he would, so that it was then out of my power to force him abord, wherefore I sent to the Proueditore to desire his assistance in it, and he with much courtesie (approouing all I had done) gaue me leaue to vse my discretion vpon him [a] on shore as freely as in my owne shippes; but the skipper hauing notice of it hired a barke secretely that night, with the money I had giuen him for expences, and inticed all the company, both of his owne shippe and the pinke, away with him. Two or three dayes before, the Dutch Consull of Zante had bin with me in their behalfe, and I had giuen him full satisfaction how they were prizes.

The 18. day I came abord to sett sayle for Zante, but the wind was full against vs, and blew so hard that wee could not get out, and so it continued all the next day.

The 20. it lessened a litle, and with much industrie wee turned vp against the wind (all our shippes being verie yare [b] and working passing well), and being gott out of the locked harbor, it was verie faire to carrie vs to Zant, whither I came and was att an anchor in 6 houres; and in the euening I sent on shore to giue notice of my comming thither to the Proueditore. In this passage wee had meanes to try our shippes going with a Dutch pinke and an English marchanteman, and found they all sayled admirable well beyond hope or expectation. In the euening a French sattie came in, and by reason wee rid neere vnder a point shee was within the roade in vpon vs before my sattie could be vnder sayle, though, vpon my command, shee slipped her cables, so that mine came to an anchor againe, and by the experience of this, and hearing that 3 or 4 more rich French satties were dayly expected here, I resolved whiles I was to stay in this roade to send out my sattie euery day to sea,

[a] "thim" in MS. [b] Nimble, quick.

well manned, to plye about betweene Zant, Cephalonia, and Morea, and to returne euery night.

The 21. I went out to sea in the sattia well manned, hauing giuen order to my shippes to keepe in any gallies that, if it prooued calme, might make after me out of the port (for I found not much expression of good will from the ministers of the state there), and hauing mett with no vessels but 3 or 4 Greekes (which I made strike) att night I came in againe.

The 22. wee had a great gust of winde, and the Proueditore deliuered me his answere that he would not graunt me prattike, in respect to the kinges of Spaine and France, whose enemie I professed myselfe to be, and, being a man of warre, had taken prizes of both those Princes subiectes.

The 23., about noone, I descryed 2 shippes comming in from the eastward; the wind being faire for me I weighed anchor and made with them. I had soone made my selfe master of them, and after due examinations I lett them goe free, the one being a Venetian of 300 tonnes, bound to Venise, laden with oyle from Candie, the other a Hollander bound for Amsterdam, laden with silke and galles from Scandirone. As I was readie to tacke about againe for Zant, I descryed a sayle which I made for a sattie; therefore I dispatched the Hopewell and my sattie after her, who soone fetched her vp, and then I made her for a carmizale,[a] of which seuerall had come the day before into Zante, laden by Greekes with corne in the Arches.[b] The wind was so contrarie that I could not that day gett to Zante, but I plyed it vp till the next day, the 24., and about noone I came to an anchor where I had bin before.

In the euening the Proueditore did send one of the Syndics of the towne to me, to represent to me the interresses of state that imported him to looke vnto in the point of my stay here, and rissenting my going out of their port to inuade any shippes that came thither, which (if permitted) would interrupt the scale of their

[a] *Caramussale*, a Turkish merchant vessel.

[b] The Archipelago.

trade; therefore he desired me, in a faire and respectiue manner, to make what hast I could to be gone from thence, and he would see that I should be immediately accommodated with whatsoeuer I desired for my voyage that the Iland would afford. I returned him a respectiue answere, assuring him that (were it but for my own sake) I would vse all diligence for my speedie departure, and withall debated with the Syndike the interestes of state that he objected to me, and endeared to him the respect I had expressed to the state there in not taking the French sattie that came in very rich (which I had notice of and could easily haue done in the port), nor the shippe which was sayled by French and the owners were Genueses, and (as I might conceuie) Spaniardes, yet their being linked in commerce with Venetians made me vse them with all frindelinesse. In fine, wee parted vpon very good termes, and I perceiued that inwardly he had better satisfaction when he vnderstood that my intent was not to stay here and goe out vpon such as I saw comming in, which was by them doubted.

This night the captaine and marchant of the Genua-Venetian shippe sent me a gentile present, expressing much thankefulnesse for the courtesie wherewith I treated them att sea, which present they would haue sent me before whiles I was out, but I would not permit them, telling them I deemed it verie ignoble to receiue any guift from such as were vnder my power.

Having fitted my selfe with wine, water, and other necessarie prouisions att Zant, and made vp the accountes with the English marchantes that bought of my goods, and leauing 5000 peeces of eight reals in Mr. Hobson's handes for my vse, I weighed anchor the 28. day verie early in the morning, and was vnder sayle by day breake, and with a faire westerly wind steered south to come to Sarigo.[a] The current eastward made vs make a verie leeward way, for before wee were aware wee were right ahead of the Ile of Ithaca, now called Theaca by the inhabitants, and Litle Cephalonia by the English. By noone we were faire by the Iles of Strauali (the Stro-

[a] Cerigo.

phades [a]), which in fertilitie exceede all the Ilandes of the Arches, and in conuenience of watering in euerie part of them, and are inhabited by onely 40 Collieres or Greeke monkes. The afternoone I spent in shifting and ordering my men, and in furnishing the other shippes of my fleete with such prouisions as they wanted, victualling them all compleately for 4 monethes.

The 29. with a stiffe gale of wind I sailed in sight of Cape Matapan, and att night came faire by Serigo (Cythera), within 2 miles of which I had a soddaine dead calme, so that being a high popping sea some of my shippes had like to haue bin foule of one another, so wee lay all that night.

The 30. in the morning wee had a fresh gale, and comming faire by the harbor I descryed 3 vessels at anchor, but perceiuing the Venetian colours I stood off againe, but before with all my vessels I could gett out, the castle made seuerall shottes, and some of them ouer vs. The castle standeth so high it can not defend the harbour within; it is strong, and hath about 36 peeces of good brasse ordinance. From thence I sailed along by L'Ouo, in sight of Oso, Doi, Poro, Poresa, and Serigotto,[b] to Candia, after I had a while chaced in vaine a sattia that was much to windward of vs betweene Poresa and Serigotto. This afternoone I gaue to all the seuerall commanders of my fleete directions and orders for sundry emergent occasions [and sealed the commissions that I gaue them.[c]]

The 31. wee were becalmed in sight of Gozo.

The 1. of June (being Whitsunday) it was calme most part of the day, whiles wee lay betweene Candie and Gozo, but towardes night wee had a fresh gale at northeast.

The 2. we came over against the Iles of Cabres.

The 3. wee brought the Iles of Calderoni a sterne, and the Iles of Christiana on our quarter.

[a] Æneid, iii. 210.

[b] Cerigotto and the other islands or rocks here named all lie between the southern extremity of the Morea and Candia.

[c] Added afterwards.

The 4. wee sailed east and by north in sight of the Ile of Caxo and of Scarpanto: all this way from Serigo wee had the wind verie vncertaine, but the current did sett strongly downeward: now I found my shippe to be in perfect good trimme, she drew 15 foote abaft and 14½ before, and the maine mast was remooued in the partners[a] much forwarder than when I came out of England in her.

The 5. wee passed along Roades and the coast of Lydia [Lycia?] (not in sight), and had a constant west winde.

The 6. wee passed along the coast of Lycia in Natolia (Asia Minor), in sight of Castelrossa and Fenica, where I was told there is a great fresh river disimbogues into the sea, and is excellent watering. In the morning I descryed 2 sayles, with which I stood, and soone fetched them vp (although they said they sayled well); they were Greekes, and had laden wood on the Caramania side, and were carrying it to Alexandria. By noone I descryed and soone fetched vp another laden where the former were, and bound for Damiata. All these gave me newes of 2 French satties lading cotton att Satalia,[b] and of many at Scanderone. The wind calmed that night, and all day the 7th. wee were busied to repaire the sattia, whose maine yard was broken by the Viceadmirall's running abord her the day before. In the euening wee had a fresh gale att west, which brought vs past Satalia, and to see att one sight before sunnesett both the maine of Pamphilia and the Iland of Cyprus.

The 8. wee were by morning betweene Cyprus and the maine ouer against Antiochia[c] in Caramania; then it calmed till about 2 of the clock afternoone, when wee descryed a vessell (which wee made for a polacra[d]) plying vp to windeward; but shee soone tacked about and stood from vs before the wind as wee did. Wee gott of her till night, and, the moone shining cleare, my sattia (that was headmost by much) kept sight of her all night; wee seeing her, did all continue the chace. About 2 a clocke next day afternoone, as

[a] Strong pieces of timber so placed as to keep the masts steady.
[b] Adalia or Satalieh.
[c] Antiochetta.
[d] A vessel rigged after the Levantine fashion.

farre off as wee could descrye, wee iudged the sattia to be come vp with her; all this while it was a fine loome gale.[a] Wee then descryed another sayle by her, and soone after a sattia plying to windward, northward of vs, which prooued to be the same. I stood after her with the Eagle, that being the best shippe in the fleete vpon a tacke in smooth water.

In the morning this day, the 9th, I descryed a boate floating vpon the sea; I sent off to take it. In it were 2 men that had bin long dead, for their flesh was all rotten; the boate seemed to be a fine one and thite, but with long driuing was halfe full of water. I caused her to be left where wee found her. By 4 a clocke we had fetched vp the vessell which wee made to be a sattia, but it was but a boate belonging to some shippe, a fine vessell, with all thinges fitting, but neuer a man in her, the sailes fitted and the rudder made fast amidships. Before this wee could from the toppegallant toppe descry our sattia and the other chace, bord and bord together, a long time, and the Rereadmirall close by them; so after wee had moored the newfound boate att our sterne, wee stood with them, they being alreadie euen with the eastermost point of Cyprus, which wee discerned plainely. Wee then saw Mount Ararat, whereon Noah's arke rested, plaine from att least 10 leagues to the westward of the east point of Cyprus [but I beleiue they that informed me so were mistaken, but it is a vulgar opinion among seamen, yet I thinke Mount Ararat is higher within the land and more eastward.[b]] Neere night the head shippes gaue other [over?] their chace and stood backe to me; the sattia onely came vp to her, and, when she was close vpon her on her broade side, haled her, who answered shee was a Malta man of warre, whereuppon after some courtesies they parted, and shee stood to the southward of Cyprus. Shee was a shippe of a 100 tonnes, a prime sayler, had 11 peeces of ordinance and 120 men, and it was her boate which I tooke vp, that they had cutt of because my sattia got so mainely of

[a] A gentle, easy gale.

[b] Inserted afterwards. The addition is of course more accurate than the original statement.

her, both to lighten her selfe and to make the sattia peraduenture tacke after her. In the night I brailed vp my sailes and putt out a light for my Viceadmirall, that was much asterne.

The 10th day the wind came (as of custome) fresh about 10 a clocke in the morning, and continued so till 6, when wee came so neere Cape Cangiere[a] as wee thought they might descrye a shippe from shore. I tooke in all my sailes and lay a hull till night, then I stood in for the shore to anchor within a point about 4 leagues from Scandirone, where for the land they could not descrye vs from thence, intending to goe in in the morning with the brize.

This day I hung out a flag of councell, and consulted with all my captaines and masters what was fitt to be done, and made the exactest preparations I could for a fight, and to fire powerfull enemies, for I had intelligence that there was great force of galliones and galligrosses in the roade that might happily oppose me. In the night I caused my boate to be well fitted to discouer the roade (vnseene) and to bring me word early in the morning. Euer since wee came within Cyprus wee found it exceeding hott when it was calme, and a strange thicke viscous dew (the serene) fell after sunnesett, which some that had bin formerly here said was verie vnwholsome, but most of my men had their health well.

The 11. in the forenoone my boate came backe to me, who brought me certaine newes that in the roade were 4 French vessels, whereof one was come in but a day before, and had still a hundred thousand reals of eight abord her; that withall there were 2 English shippes, 2 Venice galliegrosses, and 2 of their galliones. I stood in with the roade as fast as I could, but before, hauing first made a short speech to encourage my men, I sent my sattia with letters to the Venetian Generall and the English Captaines, to acquaint them who I was, contriuing it so that my letters should be deliuered euen as I came within shott. The Venetian Generall[b] treated my men

[a] The headland to the southward of Scanderoon, now termed Ras (*i.e.* Cape) el Kansir.

[b] "The General of the Galleazzes was called Signor Antonio *alias* Marino Capello, the commander of most fame and reputation for valour among the Venetians, and

ill, and sent me word he would sinke my shippes if I went not immediately out of the roade. He did his best, and shott att my flagge, but after I had endured 8 shotte from him patiently, and saluted him with gonnes from him [*sic*], I then fell vpon his vessels with all my might. It continued a cruell fight for about 3 houres. It was most part calme, else I had offended him much more. Towardes night the wind freshed; then I prepared to bord the gallioones, and so meaned to stemme the galeazzes, for I could easily gett the wind of them, hauing much maimed their oares, and they being so frighted (as it appeared by their working and the issue) that they lost all their aduantages. Then the Generall sent to me beseeching peace, and acknowledging his error in a verie abiect manner, hauing hoissed his yardes atrippe to be gone out of the roade in case I refused it. Att the English Viceconsuls entreatie (who came abord me) I granted it to him, but somewhat vpon hard termes, the principall of which was that he should abandon the French to my discretion.[a] I had taken them all but one, who was runne aground. During our fight they had carried all their goods on shore. Then I sent to take the gunnes and any thing of value out of them, and to fire the vessels, but the Viceconsul representing to me how much our nation might suffer in hauanias[b] (though I had fairely taken them, they beginning with me, not I with them,) I onely tooke away their flagges and some brasse bases for my boates heads, and sent for my men off of them, and the next day rendered them to their owners.

Whiles I stayed here I heard from Aleppo that all our marchants were putt in prison, by the Venetians getting the start of sending the first complaint; but they gott liberty to send downe 3 English

these were their best vessels by much, as well galleazzes as galliones; the captaine of them was named Signor Giouan Paulo Gradenigo." [Note in MS.]

[a] "In this fight I lost noe men, but killed 49, and hurt many of the Venetians, and shott from my shippe 200 shott, 500 from my fleete, and they as many att me." [Note in MS.]

[b] *Avania*, an impost.

marchantes to the roade to informe themselues of the truth, who before I went out (I staying vpon their intreatie) had well accommodated the businesse, and told me they were confident that both the French and Venetians (but especially the Venetians) would haue hauanias passed vpon them for their beginning with me.

Whiles I stayed here the Venetians quitted to me the signiority of the roade. The weather was extreme hott; the brize comes from the sea duely euerie day about noone, and continueth till sunnesett, which bloweth the clowdes that way, and the land is so high that they can not passe it, so that the hils are euer couered with fogges, which maketh the place exceedingly vnwholesome; and, because the windes can not refine the aire, those cloudes being alwayes permanent engender much corruption and stinkes, which we were annoyed with if att any time (as vsually in the night) any breath came of from the shore. Our men were verie sensible of the badnesse of the aire, and generally all broke out in their bodies to a sharpe itch.

The 16. of June I departed the roade, and then all the Venetians saluted me. The next morning I descryed 2 sailes, which hauing taken, and being Greekes, I dismissed. Thence I stood for Cape Cangiere, where I entended to anchor with some of my vessels, and with the rest att a point betweene it and Scanderone (where we could not be descryed) for 12 or 14 dayes; for I had certaine intelligence of 2 verie rich vessels loaden with money from Marseilles, that must come in sight of Cape Cangiere, and had contrived it so that I should haue them betweene my vessels before they could descrye me, being att anchor vnder the land. From thence I resolved to goe to Sidon, where I had intelligence of 5 sattias that were there a loading.

The 17. I came to an anchor in a sandie bay, about 7 leagues from Scanderone and 3 from Cape Cangiere. The latter part of the day the wind blew verie stiffe, but all along that coast is good anchorage. Before night some horsemen on the shore held vp to me a white flagge of peace, and from the shippe I answered them with an other. All about this coast, to the foote of the mountaines,

was a good extent of plaine ground, which seemed to be a good soyle, and to haue fresh rivers and much wood, and the ayre to be much better than at Alexandretta.[a]

The 18. I sent a shore to wood and water. The inhabitantes promised me in the morning store of fresh provisions, but before night they were commanded from Scanderone, vpon paine of death, to furnish me with none. They came down in troopes on horse backe to our men. The valley is verie fruitfull; groues of figges, mirtle, laurell, and trees that giue aromatike gummes, and of wild vines; many brookes and much fish in them. The wind blew as it vsed certainely, the day stiffe from sea, the beginning of the night from shore, then till noone calme.

The 20. I descryed a sayle, and sent the Hope-well and sattia in chase of her, who took her and brought her to me. Shee was a Greeke carmisale, of which the Vice, Rereadmirall and Hopewell had 2 dayes before taken 4, and dismissed them, as I did this.

The 21. I went ashore, and spent there all the day in much recreation, leauing order abord to haue a signe made that wee might repaire to our shippes if they saw any sayle. This day the Turkes came to me and promised to bring me store of beefes, sheepe, hens, and other prouisions.

The 22. being aduertised of a disgust betweene Captaine Stradling, my Rereadmirall, and Mr. Herris a gentleman of my shippe, they being both in the Viceadmirall, I went after them to the shore so seasonably that I came betweene them in their first assault with their swordes. They resigned their weapons to me, and I tooke order for the safe custodie of them both that night.

The next day, the 23., after hearing the matter and finding nothing to lye heavie vpon the honors of either of them, I was a meanes to accommodate the businesse, and represented to Sir Edward Stradling how much he swarued from the office of commander in giuing way to their fighting, when he might haue preuented it; as likewise to the two gentlemen how euill it beseemed them to pro-

[a] Scanderoon.

ceede in such a manner whiles they were vnder command, and how their examples (being persons of eminencie) might haue drawne on further inconueniencies. Which proceedinges I did not performe slackely, though still with due respect. Although on shore, I knew it belonged to me to do seruice to either of them, for I weighed that the dutie of one in a publike charge and of a priuate man were farre different, and that where order is not punctually obserued, and obedience duely performed to them into whose handes authoritie is consigned, it is impossible but such actions (as I was bound vpon) should miscarrie. Vpon this occasion I will take this note, which will hereafter reduce to my memorie thoughtes of much content, that (excepting this onely accident) all the companie vnder my rule did behaue themselues to one an other with such loue and quietnesse as (by the witnesse of them with me trained in like actions) could not haue bin expected, nor could be paralleled.

This day wee descryed 3 sayle. I sent out after them and tooke one; the rest they chaced no longer, because they were carmisales. After speaking with him I dismissed him forthwith.

The 24. the English Viceconsull att Scanderone came to me with a letter from the Aga there desiring me to be gone, for that I disturbed the Gran Signiors scale there. He told me how it cost the English marchantes att Aleppo much money in bribes about my comming into the roade, but that they doubted not of recouering it of the Venetians, among whom att Aleppo there was great dissention, and it came to blowes, some of them much condemning the Generall of their Galleazzes for beginning with me, others (that were his frendes) commending him because I did not strike flag nor do other ceremonies of dutie, which they said were due to him being lord of the port and of these seas with those vessels. He likewise told me that the Turkes on shore were much pleased to see me when I went out of the roade, plying against the winde, to come att the second bord close among the galleazzes and gallioones, which putt them in much feare, and was the cause they saluted me. And neuer since my going away they haue had that confidence, either on shore

or abord, as they had before; and some dayes passed before any drum, trumpet, or muskets were heard (which formerly was neuer omitted) in setting their watches.

This day the wind and sea were verie high, so that I going on shore at the consuls entreatie to speake with him, my boate was billaged and all of vs tumbled in the sea, likewise two other of my shippes boates were sunke; and I thought wee should haue laine all night on shore, but att the euening a slent of calme came, and from the shippes they sent me a boate which carried me abord. Wee descryed a sayle to day, which afterwardes perceiuing to be a carmisale wee lett passe.

The 25. I sent the Viceadmirall and sattia to lye close by Cape Cangiere, and the Rereadmirall to lye on the north shore neere Ayassa, and sent to recouer and mend my sunke boates on shore.

The 26. the Viceconsul came to me with letters from the consul and all the marchantes att Aleppo, expressing their hard condition in verie pittifull manner, and earnestly desiring me to depart from this coast, for the Venetians had spred newes that I had taken and burnt 2 carmisales; but as the Viceconsul was readie to come to me, they arriued att Scanderone and spoke of me and my good vsing them with much applause. To day my shippes abroad chaced 7 sayles, which when they made to be carmisales they lett passe. The sattia with the rough sea broke her maineyard, so that now I was forced to order her to be fitted with crosse maine sayle and toppe saile.

The 27. my boates tooke a fregate which was loaden with beefes, sheepe, hens, goates, wine, and much prouision, going to Scanderone, to the Generall of the Galeazzes, which I dismissed without suffering the value of an egge to be diminished of her.

The last of June the Viceconsul sent to me from Scanderone to desire me againe to depart out of this gulfe, for that our nation att Aleppo fared much the worse for my abode here.

The 1. of July some Turkes, growing confident vpon the newes they had how fairely I treated all the Gran Signiors subiectes that

I tooke, came to me with some small prouisions. They told me that the Venetians att Scanderone had, since my comming from thence, buried 45 men more that dyed of the hurtes they had receiued in their fight with me, and that they still dyed dayly.

By this time I had certaine aduise that the Frenchmen who were to come hither had aduise of my being here, and that therefore they did stay and would stay in places by the way till they were sure I was gone; and they att Sidon roade had taken all thinges out of their vessels, and others that were to haue come to Scanderone had vnloaden all their money att Cyprus; the knowledge of which made me thinke fit to loose no more time in these partes. Therefore, hauing now fitted my sattia with crosse sailes, and woodded and watered in a large proportion, I resolued (with the aduise of the commanders in my fleete) to shape my course backe agane in the tracke that the French vsed, in the knowledge of which I was well confirmed by some plattes that were pricked which I tooke in the French vessels att Scanderone.

The 3. I went a shore, inuited by the countrie people to hunt the wilde boare. I tooke with me 100 small shott and pikes, and went 3 or 4 miles vp into the countrie. At night when I would haue gone abord, the wind was so high that I could not. Wherefore I gaue a Turke some money (he leauing his bow and quiuer of arrowes in pawne for his honesty) to provide vs some victuals; who went to one that I had treated well abord me, and he brought downe goates, sheepe, hens, milke, egges, mellons, and bread baked as thinne as strong paper. Wee made great fires in a groue by the sea side, and rosted the flesh vpon the endes of pikes, and passed the night verie well.

The next morning, being the 4th of July, the wind lessened and I gott abord; then about noone, when the brize came in, I weighed anchor and sett sayle, when perceiuing some men on the shore wauing to me, I sent thither, and it was the Viceconsull of Scanderone, who came againe to renew his sollicitation for my departure. Wee sayled all that night with an easterly wind.

The nex tmorning, the 5., wee descryed a sayle plying to windward, which when wee chased stayed for vs. It was Mr. Ellis in the Tyger of London, going for Scanderone. Then I descryed an other sayle much ahead. I stood with her, and shee being becalmed I neered her apace, so that I descryed her to be a French polacra. Then I was becalmed, therefore manned 4 boates out to her, but a westerne brize came soone in, so that wee tooke them vp againe, and she then hauing the wind first and the weather of vs, gott mainely away, yet wee kept sight of her till night. Then I caused the Hopewell and sattia to stand in to stay vnder Cape Cangiere, the Rereadmirall to stand to the north shore where it was narrow, and the Viceadmirall and myselfe spred our selues in the offing to be sure thus to see her if shee should stand in for Scanderone.

The 6. day I spent by my selfe att sea.

The 7th I came in, and att the appointed signe all my fleete came to mee neere Cape Cangiere, and conferring together all that wee had seene of this sayle, wee concluded that it was a Malta man of warre that had lately taken 2 Greeke carmisales, and landed the men there, for the Rereadmirals boate had spoken with 2 of his. Likewise Captaine Stradling told me how riding at anchor on the north coast, he went on shore with a flag of truce, hoping to gett prattike and commerce for fresh victuals, seeing some horsemen in the appearance of gentlemen on shore. They discoursed with them some time, till he that bore the flag being somewhat aduanced from the rest, the horsemen surprised him and carried him away with them; and afterwardes when they came to treate to haue him againe, or att the worst to ransom him, they would not, but layed ambushes to gett more of our men. I could haue reuenged this iniurie with much aduantage, if I would haue landed in a night 100 men or 2, and haue surprised their villages by the shore, and burned the countrie (which was full of grapes and corne) but I was almost assured our marchantes must answere the hurt I did.

The 8. wee had the wind southerly (as wee had the night before) so that wee came in sight of Cyprus. The brize came alwayes con-

stantly att noone, and then continued till midnight. Now my shippe outsayled all my fleete by much, for she was in excellent trimme (drawing 15 foote abaft and 14 and 3 inches before) and in smooth water, and by a wind, was her best way. Here again wee felt the dew fall in great aboundance, as wee did before att our comming downe, which was much more then att Scanderone, or in the Bay of Arsous[a] where I rid att anchor.

The 9. wee had litle wind, but the former hauing sett vs much to the northward, the current did sett vs in strongly. In the afternoone, ouer against the east end of Cyprus, wee saw the relikes of a brave great and stately cittie, as it seemed to vs. The Greekes with with me told me it was called Alayassa.[b] The current had by next day that the brize came, set vs so farre in betweene Cyprus and the north maine, that I deemed it losse of too much time to goe about the other way, therefore continued on this course. Here I mett with the Greeke boate that I had spoken with before, which carried prouisions to the Galeazzes. He told me he was sent by their Captaine for wine, and that he had commanded him if he mett with me to do a verie respectiue message to me, and in his name to present me with all the prouision that he had; and withall he told me that he was afraid of his head att his returne for his rash action with me, and that the Venetians had an *auania* raised vpon them for spreading scandalous rumors of me that I had pillaged some Greeke carmizales, for the Greekes were so gratefull for the courtesies that I had done them, that they came and deposed before an officer how courteously they were vsed, and supplyed with many necessaries for their voyage.

Till the 13. in the morning wee plyed vp with litle and contrarie wind, yet with help of the current, and taking all aduantages, we were gott vp halfe way [to] the Iland of Cyprus; then the wind came east southerly, and I stood W. N. W. for Satalia, where I heard 2 French sattias were lading.

[a] Arsus, to the northward of Cape Cangieri, and between it and Scanderoon.

[b] Laodicea, or as it is now termed Latikia?

The 14. I came into the Bay of Satalia,[a] where I descryed a vessell att anchor in a creeke, to which I sent of my boates and brought their men abord. It was a Greeke carmizale, and he gaue me intelligence that there was but one sattia att the port, and shee not laden; besides the port is but a litle cricke, no broader tha na ship is long and not aboue twise as deepe, and that the ground is all rockie and they can anchor no where, but moore their sattias to the toppe of two toures that are built att the entrance of the cricke, and haue a strong guard in them to defend it. Wherefore considering these reasons, and that the wind blew strongly in, and that a great current sett into the bay, being deepe, I stood of to sea, and had a great wind and head sea att west, and the weather was verie cold with it.

Till the 19. day I stood of to the seabord, plying as neere the wind as I could, and then att noone I was 84 leagues southwest halfe a point southerly, from the cape or head land that is on the westward of the mouth of the Bay of Satalia; and then I tacked about againe to get to the northward, for I perceiued there ranne such a violent current to the eastward in the open sea as I could do no good in plying there, therefore hasted to get vnder the north shore, where the Ile of Candie and those of the Arcipelago might breake the current, and wee haue sometimes the wind off of the shore. But then the winde came so northerly that I could do no good that way, wherefore I stood off to the southwest, and came within 20 leagues of the Coast of Ægipt, all along which way wee saw store of flying fishes. The aduerse windes had hindered my designe of going straight into the Arcipelago; for the 23. day att noone, the east point of Candie bore N. by W. from me 24 leagues, and the wind came at N. N. E. so that I resolued to sayle along Candie, and att the west end (if I had time and saw it fitt) intended to come in to lye betweene Cape Angelo and Milo, for the French that trade to

[a] "Here in this bay I saw land so high above high cloudes that it was long before I could belieue it to be land. I think it is not lesse high then the Pike of Tenariffa." [Note in MS.]

Smirna, Sio, Constantinople, and those partes. This day the Swallow broke her fore misen yard, and hitherto we had constant and strong windes, and a growne sea.

The windes putt me so farre off that the 25. day we were close within three leagues of the maine of Afrike, about Luceho[a] in Barcha, ouer against the middest of Candie. Wee plyed along that shore intending to looke into some portes where wee heard that [the] French traded for wooll, hides, waxe, and feathers, but the 26. day there arose a storme att N.W. which made vs stand off N.N.E. to gett cleare of the shore. Wee had so long had calme weather that att the beginning of this storme, seuerall of our ancientest seamen, and some that had bin in the East Indiaes, were sea sicke. All the while before wee had great fogges and serenes att nightes.

The 28. wee stood in to shore againe, the storme being ceased, and when wee were as neere the land as before, and about the same place, we stood off to sea againe att night. Thus we continued to do the 29. 30. and 31. dayes, the wind continuing stiffe att north-west, and so much sea that wee gained litle. The most that wee had bin to the southward was 32° and 10′. The shore is low ground, and seemes to be sandie and barren, for wee could descrye nothing to grow there all along nor could we come verie neere, for farre off into sea it was showle water, and in many places foule ground, so that our desire was to gett off from it as soone as wee could, though with some losse, to the eastward.

The 1. of August it was calme, onely a litle breath stirring att E.N.E. By this time all our water which wee had filled att Zante and Arsous was recouered againe, which before gaue vs much annoyance, for within 3 dayes after it was filled it stunke, as also the beuarage that was made of it, and grew not sweete in long time; but for my owne prouision, after I had tryed many other wayes in vaine, I found that putting some litle peble stones and gravell, and hanging some lead, in the iarres, it continued perfect good. That night the wind came stiffe againe at N.W. and I stood off N.N.E.

[a] Lucho.

to endeauour to gaine the other shore, for I saw there was litle hope of a wind off of this, there being nothing to engender a wind, for it was lowe ground and all drie sand.

The 2. wee continued to stand of as before.

The 3. likewise, and the Swallow being almost out of sight to leewardes, I bore vp the helme south east to stand with her. She was verie leakie and in bad plight.

The 4th I stood off as before, and the more I came off to sea the more the wind did wester vpon vs.

The 5. in the morning wee saw the land of Candie all a high, about 23 leagues off; and wee descryed a sayle with which we stood, and the Hopewell and sattia fetcht her vp first. Shee did first putt out English colours, but then Captaine Beaumont putting out French colors, shee also putt out French colors. Shee said shee was of S^to^ Mauro, but had no commission nor formall instrument to testifie of whence they were. Captaine Beamond told me that one of them had confessed to him (in Italian by interpreter) that they had 20,000 dollers in readie money. When I sent for him he denyed it, and would not acknowledge that he could speake or vnderstand Italian, whereuppon I sent him abord my owne shippe to threaten him with tormentes to make him confesse, but they could get nothing out of him but that if he said any such thing it was in iest. I conceiued it might be that they had French mens moneyes, because they told me there were 2 French satties come to Zant with money that were to goe downe to the bottome,[a] but that hearing of vs they durst not, but stayed thereabouts till they should heare newes that I was gone from those partes, and finding them besides verie vncertaine in their discourses, I conceiued it possible (if they had had so much money as att first was said) that the French knowing them had trusted them to carrie it for them, they going downe into the bottome; and to adde to this surmise, was their hauing seuerall colors and many muskets and other armes, but I caused search to be made and could find nothing but such moneyes as they

[a] *i.e.* of the Levant?

said was their stocke, which was about 1,000 dollers, which I deliuered backe to them as I found it. So fitting the sattie with a toppe mast from them and a cocke boate (both which they had to spare), and taking 3 Candie barrels or rundlets of wine (of which wee had neuer a droppe, nor of beuurage in all our fleete, but all dranke water,) I dismissed her. The pilote told me there were 4 French vessels expected daily att Zante from Smirna, and some from Constantinople, and that they must come close by Micono, and peraduenture would touch att Milo.

The 6. wee fell in with the land of Candia, about 8 leagues to the westward of the east point, and (by the way) this I obserued by the pricking of our plottes[a] backewardes from the place where we were, which wee knew, to the place from whence we came on the coast of Barcha, which wee knew not, that our English plottes are verie ill made, and the land wrong drawne where wee haue litle trade, (as there), which troubled vs much in our accountes, but where wee haue frequent trade all is most exactly described. Towardes euening it was calme.

The 7th att day breake wee descryed a saile neere the Iland of Christiana, which is close to the south east end of Candia. I sent 3 shippes about to meete her on the other side the litle Iland, and my selfe with an other stood in after her. Soone after I espyed neere me 4 galliottes of warre, which I conceiue were of Messina, and were verie full of men. I also conceiue that the caramisale which I followed was their prize, for all the men left her, and when I came to her shee was a floate att sea without any liuing thing in her. I stood after the 4 galliottes, but they rowed into the windes eye so fast that it was labor lost to follow them, so that it being calme I spent the afternoone to take the mastes sayles and cordage (which I had vse of) out of the caramisale, as also her lading, which was only rise about 25 tonnes, and then I turned her off to floate (as I found her) a wrecke in the sea. This chace drew me to the furthest point of the S. E. end of Candia, and then the wind being faire for that, I

[a] Charts.

deemed it much my best and shortest way for Mo: and Cape St. Angelo to go on the N. side of Candie: but by that time I was some halfe way of the East end, it was calme, but in the evening a like wind rose, and in the night it blew fresh an northwest.

The 8. it was calme till towardes evening, then the wind rose fast as the night before. By some sea wee were some as farre as Spinalongo. It blew hard all night, and encreased so much that the next morning that wee sought some smale bay about Candie to anchor, wee came neere many but liked them not, so that wee kept of att sea, and bore vp to gett the Land to weather of vs, which was well for vs, for if that had happened to vs in a deepe bay, where we could not haue speedily gott out, which hapned afterwardes, wee had certainly perished. For in a bay where 3 of my shippes went in before me and rid att anchor, I lett fall mine, and the wind was so violent and our shippe being high carued so that it had much power on the vpper workes. The cable broke in peeces as the shippe wound vp; then I lett fall the sheate anchor, and that coming home, I was forced to keepe the sea vnder a low sayle, hauing splitt my foretoppesaile, and when I had wound in the anchor I saw that one flooke of it was broke of close to the shanke, and with it it brought vp a branch of corall. It was a maine storme, and a furious fretting wind, and in gustes there came most violent flawes, but such as wee could make readie to receiue, for wee could see them come tearing vp the water halfe a league off; yet was it reasonable smooth water, for the Iland was to windward of us. Towardes night it was lesse wind, but came vncertainely and by flawes.

The 10th the storme rose againe in the morning betimes, but calmed againe about 9 of the clocke, and then the wind came verie vncertaine. Wee had it vpon all the pointes of the compasse in space of an houre, and blew so variously that our maine course would be filled with one wind, and the fore course filled with an other directly opposite, bringing it on the backestayes; and furious gustes would come tearing the water close by vs, and be spent before they arriued to vs. I conceiue that the cause of this varietie was, that it was a storme att north on the other side of Candie, and the

land being high ouer against where wee were did keepe it off from vs, but there being a lowe gullet a litle head of vs, and another a litle a sterne, the wind came pouring downe through them, and so it was an eddie wind that came to vs: for when wee were past that highest point of the land, and were driuen a litle further off to sea (which was about noone) then wee had the wind constant att north with a great storme. Before night wee were arriued to halfe the length of Candia. It is all about it high cliffie land, and no anchoring but close by the shore, and that in deepe water. It is so hilly that for the most part it is vncultiuated, but here and there are fertile valleyes which beare a rich grape; so that there are few townes or villages in it; one familie being enough to manure all the ground that in a great distance is fitt to make profitt of. It continued much wind all that night, but the next morning it calmed, about noone blew a gentle gale at N.W., and by night that day, the 11th., wee had gained the length of the Iland of Candia, and were att the west end of it.

The 12. wee doubled the end of Candia with faire weather.

The 13. wee descryed a sayle comming out from betweene the Ilandes called the Grabugi,[a] att the end of Candia. When I stood towardes her, shee stood in againe, and gott vnder a castle that is there, wherein is 40 brasse peeces of ordinance. I then stood off againe, as though I had plyed to windward, and shee came off and stood as I did. Then I putt out dragges and a bight of a cable, so that shee fetched mainely of me; but when shee was halfe way with me shee bore vp againe and anchored vnder the castle. I then stood on towardes Serigotto, the wind at north east, faire weather. That night I saw Cape St. Angelo in Morea, but the wind comming N. I stood E.N.E.; and the 14th in the morning I saw Milo all a high, about 12 leagues off N.N.E.

I plyed it vp with contrarie wind, and the 15. by night I came faire by it, but shortened saile that I might not come in before morning, because I had intelligence some French had lately bin there, and peraduenture were not yet gone, and in the night I could

[a] Grabusa is now the name of the principal island of this little groupe.

not spye all my opportunities, but might cause such a bruit as to make them putt their best thinges ashore. Close by Milo lyes an Iland that my cardes call Anania,[a] but the Greekes I had in my shippe named it *L'Isola de Diauoli*, because they say no men inhabite there, but is infested with diuels; and that when they moore their cables vpon the shore (for it is high land, and the water deepe by the shore) they all loose of themselues, vnlesse they make them fast, making a crosse with the endes of euerie two cables. One of them said that not long before he was there with the Florentine gallyes, and they were moored without a crosse, and in the night they heard a loud voice out of the sea that bad them quickely rowe away, and cry'd "*Hala! Hala!*" for their cables were loose, which they found to be true.[b] The like is said to be att Strombolo. We were now in great want of water.

The 16. I came into Milo. It is a braue port, able to containe a vast number of shippes, and is land locked; it is of much more capacitie then that att Cephalonia. The entrance is verie narrow, and so deepe water that all the way without, and a good way within, wee had no ground though wee were close abord the shore; but we anchored in a sandie bay att 15 faddome water. The people were so confident that they immediately came abord me, and one that is consull there for strangers; and sending to acquaint the Caya (who is the Turkish gouernor) with my comming, he assured me of all faire correspondence from him, and supplye with all necessaries.

The 17. I went to visit the Caya and Cadi, of whom I receiued much courtesie. There are but them two Turkes in the Iland, and a few seruantes with them. They are sent by the Behi of Roades,

[a] "Afterwardes I found they were 3 litle Ilandes, not Anania, which lyes more W."

[b] "Many of the towne told me it was true, and familiar to them; euerie daye fisher boates were serued so, and many that spoke with me had heard the voice "*Hala! Hala!*" which is, "Haile in the roape!" And some old men remembred when there were no Ilandes there, but they grew by litle and litle out of the sea, first with great thundring noises like shooting of peeces of artillerie, and dayly grew more and more, and now lately one litle one was growing out." [This and the preceding note were added afterwards by Sir Kenelm Digby.]

to whom the Gran Signior hath giuen the profit of that and some other Iland in the Archipelago towardes the defraying of his gallyes that he armes. This Iland liueth freer then any other of the Turkes dominions, and hath indeed nothing but the name of seruitude, for they pay a reasonable tribute, and are no further molested, nor haue Turkes come to oppresse them. It seemes to be verie fruitfull; wee had excellent fruites, and very good other prouisions, but especially abundance of partridges, and as cheape as larkes in England.

The 18. I went ashore and lay att the consuls house, whiles my men were filling water, which there is bad conueniency for, and the water not good. During that time I feasted the Turkes, who were verie barbarous and bestiall in respect of others that I haue seene.

The 22. I came abord againe; and, for disorders on shore and disrespect to his Captaine, I did putt the master of the Rereadmirall out of his place. But vpon his humble submission, and such satisfaction to his Captaine that he became a solicitor for him, I restored him to his charge.

The 23. I sett sayle to be gone, but was becalmed in the mouth of the harbor, so that I came to an anchor of one side close to the shore. Vpon humble submission I restored my principall masters mate to his place, that I had turned before the mast for some disrespectiue misdemeanour.

The 24. in the morning I gott out, and neere to Antimilo I mett with my other 3 shippes, who had had [*sic*] taken 2 French sattias that came from Alexandria. One of them they tooke without resistance, the men ruuning on shore att Candia; but the other fought 2 houres with the boate that afterwardes tooke them, and whiles they went to the shippes for more pouder (for it was dead calme) the men ranne a shore in the boate, so that in this neither they tooke any men. This afternoone wee descryed 5 sayles betweene Milo and Cape St. Angelo, after which wee stood, but in the night wee lost them. One of the sattias proouing an excellent sayler wee kept, the other being almost billaged with running aground, they turned off when they had vnladen and spoyled her. In the taking these

Sir Edward Stradling gaue testimonie of much iudgement and discretion, for they were so much beyond our vessels in sayling that had it not bin by artifice they could neuer haue taken them.

The 25. it was calme a great part of the day.

The 26. the wind came at S. W. so that not being able to gett any thing towardes Zant, and hearing there were 4 French sattias come or coming from Smyrna, which had or would putt in att Micono vntill they heard of our being out of the Arches, I stood that way, which was about 20 leagues off, although with vnwillingeness of my masters, in which I was the more forward out of confidence that in Delos I should not loose my labour; besides that att Micono I entended to make my prouision of wines, where it is verie good and exceeding cheape.

The same day it was calme most part of the day. We passed betweene Serfou and Sifanto, and saw Argentera, Calipodi, Serfupodi, Fermina, Cea, Sira, Tino, Canate, Antiparisi, Parisi, Naxia, and some other ilandes. Towardes night it came a fine gale att S. W.

The 27. in the morning wee were faire by Dilles, hauing shortened saile and plyed to and againe all night least wee should haue ouershott it; then wee saw Andria and the castle vpon Tino, which being impregnable by being seated vpon a high rocke, hath preserued that Iland for the Venetians. Before noone I came to an anchor in Micono roade, and in the afternoone I tooke a boate to goe to Delos, but the wind rose so strong against me when I was gone two thirdes of the way, and there came withall furious raine and lightning, that I was forced to returne. That night was the foulest for raine, for vehemence of thunder and lightning, for extreme darkenesse and violent snatches of winde, that euer I saw.

The 28. it cleared vp, and being verie faire I spent the day att Delos in search of antiquities. In these partes, as well as att Milo, they had heard a punctuall relation of my fight att Scanderone with the galeazzes, which made me be much welcomed by them all, out of the disaffection they generally beare here to the Venetians and

the extraordinarinesse of the action; and the Viceconsull of the English here told me that he was at Smyrna when the newes of it came to our ambassador Sir Thomas Rowe (then there) and to the consull and English marchantes, all who made much joy att it.

The 29. going out with the Rereadmirall, Hopewell and sattia, I saw a great shippe (bigger then the Eagle) ouer the low land of Delphos. I stood with her, but before I could doubble the point to come to her, shee was gott so farre from vs that night drawing on I deemed it best to giue ouer the chace and anchored att Delos.

The 30. I spent there looking of antiquities.

The 31. I returned to Micono, onely the sattia came not in.

This day I ended a difference betweene Captaine Windesor (whom I had caused to surrender his commission some dayes before) and Mr. Harris.

I gaue order for the speedy dispatch of the polacra, and with halfe of my shippes went to Delphos, which is a verie good port, and there I spent my time taking in some marble stones and statues till the Viceadmirall and polacra and sattia came to me, which was the 3. of September. Then the wind being contrarie I vnladed the sattia, and tooke the rest of her goods (which the Viceadmirall and Hopewell had left) into my shippe.

The reasons that mooved me to come to Micono were these. Mr. Tauerner said the polacra was so leakie and in euill plight that he would not venture to saile in her to Patras, and to stay att Milo to carine and fitt her I saw was verie inconuenient, for it was a place that administred meanes of such debauchednesse that I found by experience I could haue no command of my men there, and the wind came faire to carrie vs to Micono in a day, and it was too soone by 3 week[es] to come into our port to make prouisions, for it was so hott that all men said in a moneth yet meate could not take salt, and wine is extreamely cheape att Micono, so that I entended to make all my prouisions there of that, but was frustrated, for they had filled vp all their old caske and store with new wines which were naught for beuurage, and in the litle channell between Tino

and Micono, did passe all those vessels that went for Constantinople, Sio, or Smy[r]na, where I heard there were 6 Frenchmen readie to come out, and more dayly expected to come thither. But being at Micono I found that my men likewise haunted that shore, which yet was not comparably so bad as Milo, and were vneasie to be kept abord; so that I went with most of my shippes to Delphos, a desert iland, where staying till the rest were readie, because idlenesse should not fixe their mindes vpon any vntoward fansies (as is vsuall among seamen), and together to auayle myselfe of the conueniencie of carrying away some antiquities there, I busied them in rolling of stones downe to the sea side, which they did with such eagernesse as though it had bin the earnestest businesse that they came out for, and they mastered prodigious massie weightes; but one stone, the greatest and fairest of all, containing 4 statues, they gaue ouer after they had bin, 300 men, a whole day about it, whiles the dispatching some businesse with some Venetians come from Tino detained me abord. But the next day I contriued a way with mastes of shippes and another shippe to ride oueragainst it, that brought it downe with much ease and speede. In the litle Delphos there are braue marble stones heaped vp in the great ruines of Apollos temple, and within the circuit of it is a huge statue, but broken in two peeces about the wast, which the Greekes told me was Apollos. It weigheth att least 30 tonnes, and time hath worn out much [a] the softnesses and gentilenesses of the worke, yet all the proportions remaine perfect and in grosse; the yieldinges of the flesh and the musculous partes are visible, so that it is still a braue noble piece, and hath by diuers bin attempted to be carried away, but they haue all failed in it.

The 4th and 5th I spent in vnlading the sugars and other goods out of the sattia.

The 6th shee tooke in ballast.

The 7th I descryed a sayle coming in betweene Tino and Mi-

[a] This passage was written in the first instance without the "much." On inserting it perhaps Sir Kenelm omitted to add "of."

cono, to which I sent out 2 vessels, who soone fetched her vppe. She was a French polacra, bought by Greekes, and now employed by the English consull att Smyrna to goe to one of the ilandes neere for wine, and by her he writt to me. The master said that they had heard of me att Sio and Smyrna 6 dayes before, but that since my being in these partes 5 or 6 French vessels had passed to and againe close by me; but it was their fortune to scape by comming in the night. It was now so hott that swimming a nightes I found the water warmer then att any time in England.

The 8. I restored his commission to Captaine Windesor, did putt an other master in the polacra, settled Captaine Digby and Mr. Aires in the sattia, and for some impertinencies and arrogancies did putt my chiefe masters mate out of his place: and by noone did sett saile with a faire wind. Towardes night it lessened and scanted.

The 9th the wind was att southwest.

The 10. it came faire, and by 10 of the clocke in the morning wee were faire by Antimilo, whiles some of my shippes were betweene it and Milo to speake with two boates that they saw there. By night wee were faire by Cape St. Angelo, and then I shortened saile to expect my shippes that I sent in by Milo; yet, notwithstanding that, wee had so fresh and faire a gale that wee made 70 leagues in 24 houres.

The 11. I passed by Corone,[a] that shewed to be a fine cittie, and a fruitfull countrie about it, and descrying some sailes (that wee made for sattias) and not liking the working of the shippes I sent, I came abord the Hopewell, and in her, with the polacra, I came betweene Sapienza and Modona (which seems to be a fine strong towne) and tooke two vessels, but soone dismissed them, for they were Greekes with dubble misen sailes. I saluted Modona, two leagues from it. To the westward is an other fine port, and two strong castles. Before night wee saw Strofali.[b] All that night and the next day was calme, and we were about 8 leagues from Zante. I was in some perplexitie for the sattia, the Starre, which departed from me, indiscreetely following a Greeke vessell (that I had dis-

[a] Koroni. [b] Strophadia.

missed in their sight) vnder Corone, although I shott towardes them and weaued [*sic*] them to follow me.

The 13th I came into Zante roade, where I anchored without all the English shippes that I found there, and the next day the sattia came in to me.

Att my first arrivall the new Proueditore sent me verie courteous messages, and a kind of promise of prattike within a day or two: but I saw that I was delayed from time to time with much præiudice to me, and therefore resolued to goe carine my vessels att an other port, and to victuall att Patras. Mr. Leate shewed me his fathers and brothers letters aduertising him how Mr. Strode had refused to pay the billes of exchange for 4,000 dollers made vpon him from Argieres (whereby they came protested), and had vsed speeches of much disrespect and disgrace to me: whereupon I payed him the money here, and had billes from him to his father for repayment of it backe in case Mr. Strode should haue payed it. I stayed here to gett some prouisions, as hoopes, tallow, tarre, pitch, wine, bread, and to procure some English men and pouder from the English shippes here.

The 18. Sir Edward Stradling went in an English shippe to Patras, to haue conuenience to attend to his health there whiles I carined my vessels, (he being then indisposed,) and he was pleased to take charge of bespeaking some thinges necessarie for my fleete, as victuals and other prouisions. Some of the English marchantes come from Aleppo told me, abord Captaine Hatches shippe, that the paying money by the English, vpon occasion of the action done by me att Scanderone, proceeded from the consuls feare and weakenesse, and that now there were certificates sent vp to Constantinople by the Bassha of Aleppo and the Cadi and Agaw att Scanderone to witnesse that the Venetians began to fight with me, and offred me much affront, and that the French shott the first shottes att me, and that I had taken them, but had afterwardes giuen them backe att the entreatie of the English and of the Agaw, and had taken nothing from them

The 19. I punished by ducking [a] and other wayes a dozen or sixteen of my men that had been disorderly on shore, and that I had much difficultie to gett abord againe; and tooke order that for the future none of my men should goe ashore in port, but would hire a boate of the place to goe to and againe to doe businesse.

The 20. I sett saile from Zante to goe to Petalas, a fitt port, ouer against Ithaca, to carine my shippes in.

The 21. in the morning I came in there, and found it an ill roade without, and within the harbor was fitt onely for gallies, so that I stood on further, and came to the bay of Drogomaster, which deuideth itselfe in the bottome into two portes, the one bearing that name, the other called S[ta] Pantalemona. Into this last I came, and is the best port that either I or any with me euer saw. There I careend and breemed my shippes with verie great diligence, and kept all the day sentinels vpon the hilles, and the night boates to watch att sea, that so I might be aduertised if any gallies or boates should come to surprise me and fire my vessels. I had so fitted my selfe that gallies could not hurt mee att length, for they could not open my shippes till they were within halfe the length of our ordinance, and I had the mouth of the harbor alwayes barred vp with two shippes riding each with 4 hawsers to keepe their broad sides to beare, so that I had alwayes aboue 50 peeces of ordinance to beare for my defence. I was thus cautious, because whiles I was att Zant there came in boates to spye what I did, sent by the Sicilian and Naples gallies (which were in all 28), that I heard traced me all about to surprise me att some aduantage.

There came in here seuerall sayles to layde corne and *valagni* [b] for Venice; the pinke that I had sold to the marchantes att Zant came hither to lade corne for Corfu, sent by the Proueditore, and the master (a Venetian) told me that 2 galleazzes and 15 gallies were gone downe towardes Scanderone to carrie mastes to the other

[a] "With the much and violent motion of the roape the blocke did take fire." [Note by Sir Kenelm Digby.]

[b] *Valonea*, the acorn-cup of a peculiar kind of oak (*Quercus Ægilops*), much used in tanning.

galleazzes (which I had shott downe) and a 100 oares, and said that he heard there I had killed them aboue 100 men.

During my stay here I sold some rise and flaxe, the rise because it lying abaft in an emptied bread roome it did putt my shippe out of trimme, and began to be full of wormes, and the flaxe because it was a dangerous commoditie for a shippe that hath often occasions to fighte. Here also I saw the inconueniencie of breeming aloft to pay the shippe ouer with pitch, for of my six vessels not one scaped being sett on fire in the doing them, and would haue consumed them if great diligence had not bin vsed, and care taken before hand to remedie such an inconvenience if it should happen.

I made here an incredible expedition, for I calked, carined, and tallowed all my shippes, and breemed and blacked them, putt out their ballast and tooke it in againe and all their goods, and hooped aboue 100 tonnes of caske, and lined many old sailes and made new, and tooke in six monethes prouision of wood, besides the doing of many other businesse of lesse importance.

The last of September, hauing done all businesse in that port, I came out of the harbor in the euening, and lay in the roade becalmed all night.

The 1. of October a gentle wind off of the shore brought vs out betimes in the morning, but by that time we were halfe way to Patras, a strong Leuante out of the gulfe of Lepanto tooke vs so that we plyed it vp, and anchored vnder the lee of Cape Papao, neere the bay of Clarenzia.

The second in the morning I waighed from thence, and plyed it vp with a verie strong contrarie wind, and by night came to anchor in the bay neere Patras.

The next day, the 3d, in the morning, I gott into the roade with much difficultie, by the varietie of the windes caused by the hilles making eddie windes. That day the consull came abord me, and told me how he had taken order for all such prouisions as I writt for.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th, wee spent before wee could reconcile some differences betweene the Caya and Cadi of the place and my selfe,

for they, conceiuing that I had taken rich prizes, would force me to sell goods att their rates, and to giue them and other officers great presentes (as I was faine to do att Argires) before they would lett me haue any prouisions. Necessity forced me to condiscend to some inconueniencies, and the 7th my men began to kill hogges, and the bakers to make bread.

That day att the consuls instance, and to oblige some of the principall officers that were interessed in it, and that could aduance my businesse, I dispatched my Rereadmirall to Zante with a parcell of silke of theirs, which if I had not done the consul would haue bin much intrigued, and much præiudice haue come to an English shippe then in the roade, that otherwise would haue bin forced to take it in and deliuer it in a place out of his way to goe vnto.

[The 6th, after a sharpe reprehension, I accommodated a difference hapned betweene the master of my shippe and the purcer of my fleete, they both making an humble submission and acknowledgement of their error to me.][a]

The 8th, in the morning, hauing discouered that my steward had purloined away some sugar and rise, I made him be first ducked (with a gunne shott off) and then towed att my boates sterne to euery one of my shippes, expressing his fault to them.

The 9th I went on shore to the consuls house, intending from thence to goe to visite the Caya and Cadi, to treate of accommodating vpon reasonable termes the demandes that they made for the port charges of my seuerall vessels (which were verie great); but, as soone as I was come into the consuls house, some seruantes of the Cayas came in there with violence to haue me from thence, and to affront me, and did beate seuerall of my followers in outragious maner, and carried them away prisoners (for I subtilely gott out of their handes) and then the Caya consulted to take and keepe me prisoner in the castle, vntill I had brought all the goods out of my shippes to the shore, that they might haue them att their pleasure; but by industrious negotiation I preuented this, and with presentes procured my

[a] Inserted afterwards by Sir Kenelm Digby in the margin of the MS.

selfe a strong faction in the place, so that I secured myselfe and companie from danger, and gott a promise of 20,000 lbs. of bread (which before was denyed me) and more hogges and beeues and other prouisions than I had neede of; all which before my comming into the port was promised me by them, in a large manner, to the messenger that I sent before hand to know what welcome I should find there; yet, besides the presentes, I was forced to part with a good quantity of flaxe and other goods att an inferior value, for whatsoeuer it cost me I was necessitated to take in victuals and prouisions there, by reason that my coming into any of the Venetians dominions was interdicted me. The Duke of Florence, I heard, began to vse our nation discourteously, and arrested those English shippes that had taken Spanish or French prizes, and raised *hauanias* vpon them. To Argires or Tunis I was vnwilling to come without extreme necessity, as not beeing verie confident of their faith; and to go further northward, as to Villafranca, besides the loosing of the season vpon the coast of Spaine without the Straightes, my victuall was verie short, therefore patience and temporizing with their furies was my best remedies in these perplexities with this people, that is unresistable and uncouncelleable in the violence of their motions.

The 13th I heard, in publike presence of all the principall commanders in my fleete, the accusations that the gunner and boateswaine of my shippe made against the master, of hauing purloined away some goods; but, after strict examination, I found that the gunner raised the aspersion vpon malice, and the boateson through indiscretion was drawne in to confirme it, so that I cleared the master with honor, and gaue the others the sharpest rebuke that I could, and had punished them in a most disgracefull manner if I could haue taken hold of anything that they had affirmed of themselues, but (after the manner of seamen) they had taken vp an euill grounded rumor, which, being traced from one to an other, euery time with some additions, came att length to vanish without finding any præcise author.

All this past weeke it was exceeding cold, and most nightes frostes, and there fell a great quantity of snow and raine.

A great man of Lepanto that gouerneth all those partes, called Signior Bego, and a great soldior, came to Patras to buy my sattia, which I had offered to sell because shee was an auncient vessell and could not brooke the winter season and our English seas, and that it caused too great a diuision and consequently a weakening of my strength, and that I wanted money to buy victuals and necessaries for my voyage home; whereupon I sold it to him for 200 loades of winne and 60 kintals of biskett, and entertained him one night abord my shippe.

All the time of my staying in this port I had continual vexation and trouble through the iniustice and tyrannie of the Turkes, which I passed by in the best manner that I could till I had my victualls abord, and in 18 dayes after my comming in I had dispatched my businesse here, so that the 21. of October in the cuening I sett sayle from Patras with the wind off of the shore.

The 22. I plyed it vp and sometimes led it along with a scant wind. This night was verie tempestuous both for wind, raine, and lightning.

The 23. by noone I came to an anchor in Clarenzia roade, betweene Cape Ternese and Cape Clarenzia, vnder Castle Ternese. Here I had bespoke 40 beefes and 60 hogges more, which were readie at my coming. This had bin a much fitter place then Patras to victual in, much cheaper, and with farre greater expedition; but the consull, either through misaprehension or a dishonest desire to helpe himselfe of my being there, aduised me to come into Patras, I hauing sent a fortenight before hand to him to be enformed what entertainment I should haue there. [I found the consull to faile me in many thinges of honesty and humanitye, and he cheated Sir Edward Stradling with a false diamond, selling it to him vpon his word for a true one.][a]

[a] Subsequently added, in the margin of the MS., by Sir Kenelm Digby.

All the country of Morea is verie fruitfull in all thinges vsefull to men, and maintaineth Zant, Cephalonia, and other ilandes about it out of the superfluitie thereof. It maketh a great store of silke, and I heare it is rich in mines. The Turke hath litle force in it now, and by reason of his warres in other places could not assist it if it were inuaded. One may land all about, and a castle att Corinth would preserue it from any forces to be brought by land; and the Greekes of the countrie would infallibly take part with a Christian inuader, and would soone become a belliguous nation, as alreadie the Albaneses are, which liue within the land and attend to keepe cattle. This soyle, but especially Lepanto, produceth excellent tobacco, and it is cheape, for they of my companie that tooke of it told me that some would be worth 20*s.* a lib. in England which they bought for 1*s.* Certainely great aduantage might be made by sending one out of England that knew how to cure it and make it vp well, for the Turkes vse the leafe rudely gathered and conserued without any art. Vpon all this coast is great store of excellent fish.

The 27th day I sent my Rereadmirall to my other two vessels on the Lepanto side, to preuent any treacherous intention of the Turkes and Jewes, with whom I parted att Clarenzia vpon verie ill termes, they hauing vsed me verie dishonestly. In the night I weighed anchor to go for Zante, but as soon as I was cleare of the pointes of the land, there came a furious storme at S. E. and E. and by S. which droue vs out of Zante roade when wee were gott in (but not come to an anchor); so wee bore vp for Zephalonia. In the mid way betweene the ilandes, my boate broke from my sterne with a man in her, but the storme was so great and the sea so high that I could not helpe him; yet the sea drove the boat ashore, and the man swimming well he saued himselfe with much difficultie, the boate being staued in many peeces.

The 28. about 1 of the clocke afternoone, I came to anchor in the open roade without Argostoli in Cefalonia, neere the fleete of the currant shippes homewardes bound, consisting of 8 English and 5

Fleminges, and a' head of them did ride a sattia, which at the first I thought to be some prize of the English, but soone I perceiued 4 or 5 boates come to her, and those putt off againe, and shee lett slippe 2 cables and left her anchors behind and hoissed vp her sayles, and then I made a shott att her, att which shee not amaining I made 2 more that came verie neere her, and then shee bore vp to come to me, whereas before shee would haue gott into the porte for her safetie. But by the way, as shee was comming to my shippe, hauing yielded vpon my shott, Captaine Driuer made a shott att her and came with his boate to bord her, so did all the rest of the captaines, and hauing aboue 100 men abord her they treated verie ill those few men that I had sent abord her, and with a hawser made her fast to one of their shippes, and their men broke open the hold, and committed great disorder, and in particular Captaine Trenchfield carried away seuerall bagges of money; all which I vnderstanding did goe abord my selfe, and tooke her from the shippe Paragone (though with much reluctation), and putt off all their men and anchored with her neere one of my owne shippes, and streight nailed vp the hatches of the hold. The French master of her told me then, that he had bin there euer since 9 a clocke in the morning, and that the English captaines told him they durst not nor would not meddle with him, but gaue him notice of me that was comming in; which when he perceiued me, and that I was sending off my boate to him, then he did lett slippe his cables, the storme not letting him go in or gett vnder saile before. And after I had shott att him, then the other captaines of the marchant shippes would haue taken him, for so they had bin free of any intrigue from the Venetians (who they doubted would rissent it vpon their owners), and would haue pretended to them that they had done no act of hostilitie, but they would haue had the principall benefitt; and so my comming in for a small share should haue borne the weight of all and haue warranted their action. But I carried it in an another manner, for I did putt them all out, and kept (as *in deposito* till I came to haue it decided in England) the money which I found there (which was 3 litle cases

buried in the ballast, and the goods; and kept the French captaine, the English hauing taken all the other men away in their boates.

The 29. in the euening the carrack fleete did set sayle.

The 30. it was foule weather. In the afternoone I weighed anchor and came out of the roade into the port, which I saluted with 3 peeces of ordinance. The Paragone and others the marchant shippes hauing the Frenchmen aboord them all but the captaine) did putt them ashore, so that they complained to the Proueditore, and much incensed him against our nation. Whereupon I gaue the captaine leaue to goe a shore to see if he could procure them to come abord, offring great conditions in my name; and I was confident to permitt him to goe, because I had promised him much courtesie in England, and he seemed to be verie well pleased, as he had reason.

The last of October I stayed all day expecting leaue from the Proueditore to take in water, of which I was in great necessity, hauing att Patras and Clarenzia referred that to this place and Zante; but I heard that the Proueditore had commanded, vpon paine of death and confiscation of goods, no man should sell me any thing, and would guard the water perforce against me.

The 1. of Nouember wee had verie vncertaine weather. There fell the greatest storme of raine that euer I saw, and a whirlewind tooke vp the sea by me and carried it almost as high as the mountaines. I expected euer since my comming in to haue licence to water, and 2 dayes before had sent a respectiue message to the Proueditore that, for his sake, I would restore the sattia to the Frenchmen. Hearing no answere from him, I sent this afternoone my boates into the bottome of the harbor for water (the sattia being well prouided), and sent in as farre as I could to guard them. That day and the next I had done watering, and perceiuing that the Proueditore did vse me onely with delayes, and doubting that (besides my losse of time) the Venetians subtle and false dealing might draw me into cumber, and not hearing any thing of my Rereadmirall and pinnace, the Swallow, I resolued to sett sayle for Zante the

3d day, the Venetian soldiors keeping the water in the towne from me with muskets and other armes, but I watered completely here.

The 3d and 4th it was verie foule weather. The 4th my pinnace came in with wine and bread from Signior Bego att Lepanto, who did complye verie honorably with his word in all thinges but time. He treated my men verie courteously, and made an order that they that came on shore should pay nothing for whatsoeuer they called for, so that none of the towne durst take any money of them; and he made a proclamation that vpon paine of death (which was fleaing and rosting aliue) that no Turke should iniure any of my men.

The 5th was boisterous weather.

The 6th the Vicechancellor of Zefalonia came to me by order of the Proveditore to giue me thankes for the sattia which att his earnest request I gaue backe to the Frenchmen, and brought me a coppie of the captaines examination and deposition before the gouernors of the iland, publikely authenticated, wherein he auerred how I onely had taken him, and that the captaines of the marchantes shippes had promised him protection, and other [under?] that pretence (it seemeth) would haue pillaged him, abused my Lord Admirall, deceiued me, and yet haue putt the fault (if there were any) vpon me for taking her there, I onely committing a publike act of hostility by shooting. Wherein it is also probable he should haue had the assistance of the French, who doubtlessely had rather loose but part then all, as they knew they should do with me. I also gaue the Frenchmen att the Proueditores entreatie 60 peeces of eight, and a monethes bread. I could not haue the captaine along with me, for when he came on shore (I permitting that vpon his word) the French consull there would not suffer him to returne. The marchantes were also now released, who were in the castle detained vpon color that the marchant shippes had taken the prize, but indeed it was because the gouernors would take this occasion to make them buy their currantes (which lay vpon their handes) att what prizes they would, which they knew would turne the mar-

chantes more to account then to be detained from following their occasions.

The 7th I did sett sayle for Zante, to take in the thinges prouided, and to meete with my Rereadmirall, which I did in the morning, who related to me how nobly Signior Bego had complyed with him, and that when he saw his shippe comming in he conceiued I had intended to do so with my fleete, and thereuppon made offer to deliuer into my handes the vpper castle of Lepanto to serue for my security whiles I should stay on shore, to keepe it with as many men as I would, it being an inuincible forte. The towne is diuided into fiue of them, and this commandeth them all. The Rereadmirall was putt into Zant by the foule weather, and could haue taken two French sattias there (one a verie rich one bound for Scanderone) had it not bin for respect to the port which they were in, not out, as that which I tooke att Cefalonia. Wee had litle wind all this day. Repacking our English beefe, wee found it to be verie bad. I beleeue the marchantes that looked to my victualling att home did putt it vp ignorantely, and drew not the bloodie pickle from it, for att the first the flesh was excellent good. By midnight I came to an anchor att Zante.

The 9th in the morning a sattia went out by me, but I would not send out after her, or take her as shee passed, out of respect of the place. I could also haue taken the rich sattia that ridde still there, with litle or no danger, if I would. This day I new diuided, ordered, and shifted my men, for my voyage homewardes, and displaced the master and gunner of the pinnace for great disorders that they committed when they were on the Lepanto side for wine.

The 10th in the morning, about day breake, a French sattia with a French flagge came into porte, and I causing watch to be kept about my shippes in boates because the French had threatned firing my fleete in the night, the two boates that kept the watch (neither of them being my shippes boate) went off without any order from their commanders, through an indiscreete curiositie of haling and viewing the sattia, but they had no weapons att all in

the boates. When they returned, and that it was related to me, I punished those that were in the boates for their going from the shippes without order; and afterwardes vnderstanding that the Proueditore tooke it very ill, as though they intended to haue surprised the sattia (although they offred no act of hostilitie or disrespect att all), I sent him word how the truth was, and that if he were not satisfyed with the punishment I had made of them, I would putt the men of my boates into his handes that he might examine the fact and punish them as he thought fitt. But he would heare nothing from me, but made proclamation, vpon paine of death, that no Englishman should come on shore, nor any man there deliuer money or any prouision to me; whereas vpon his word I had bought and payed for oyle, wine, bread, fish, clothes for my men, and many other prouisions that were necessary to me, and the English and some Italian marchantes there ought me a good summe of money for goods deliuered them vpon sale. Whereuppon I sent the next day to represent to him the great necessity I had of those prouisions; and, in case he would not lett me haue them, to protest against him as the author of any inconueniency might arise, if necessity compelled me to take any victualles or clothes from any Venetian or their friendes that I might meete withall. But he was so harsh to the marchantes that he would not heare them speake, but threatned them that went vp to him to throw them ouer the castle walles, and to send the rest to the gallies, and att euery word called the King of Englandes shippes of warre *ladroni e corsari.* All this while I was under saile making bordes on and off, till after noone vnderstanding how peremptory he was, that day being the 11. of November, I shaped my course homewardes; and did sett downe orders for all the fleete how to worke, and where to make our seuerall rendezvous in case we should lose companie by foule weather.

The 12th faire weather and litle winde; that southerly.

The 13. like weather. In the morning I descryed a sayle a head of me to windewardes standing towardes me, wherefore I ordered

the Viceadmirall and pinnace to stand vpon the other tacke that they might gett the wind of her, though withall they fell a sterne. In the afternoone and all night I shortened saile for my shippes.

The 14. in the morning I mett with my shippes againe, who perceiuing her to be a carmisale gaue ouer the chace. It was a stiffe gale att south, and a growne sea.

The 15. faire weather, the wind easterly, a gentle gale, which calmed towardes euening.

The 16. in the morning wee saw Cape Spartauento, and descryed a sayle about a league to windeward of vs [open of the faro[a]]. It was litle wind, with which in a short time, being close vpon a tacke, I gott halfe way vpon him. Then it fell dead calme; wherefore I caused our boates to towe vp the Swallow, who being within shott the vessell putt abroad the Florentine colours. Then by my boate that he called abord him he sent me a verie courteous letter. He had taken a towne of the Turkes, and carried away men and women aboue 100 captiues. It was calme all day.

The 17. it was calme till euening. The night before the Rereadmirall and Swallow lost companie of me,[b] although it was litle wind and I carried out 2 lightes, one ahead another a sterne, in the lanterne, all night, and had but litle sayle abroad. Wee easily saw Mont Gibello[c] casting out much smoake, and sayled along neere

[a] These words seem to have been a subsequent insertion. The Faro alluded to was of course that of Messina.

[b] "They stood after that vessell, and not knowing what had pased betweene them and me, Captaine Stradling made the Florentine strike and tacke towardes me, and come abord him, though att the first he was very peremptorie till Captaine Stradling told him he would shoote att him. He knew the exact relation as I haue sett it downe, of my fight with the galligrosses at Scandirone, with addition of much spoken by him to our honor; but with all said how by Bruer Raers his meanes it was bruited through Italy that I was very cruell, and heaued them all ouer bord that I tooke. When Cap[tain] Strad[ling] had perfect satisfaction of the shippe he dismissed him, seing I stood off. The third day after being calme 3 gallies came out to him from Messina, but a litle breath came, and he then standing to them they ranne away." [All this has been subsequently added in the margin of the MS. as a note.]

[c] Ætna.

the shore in sight of Syracusa, and towardes euening tacked about because we could not dubble Cape Passer, the wind being southerly. I carried out lightes all night, in hope my vessels that lost me might see them; att midnight I stood in againe.

The 18. in the morning I descryed a polacra to leeward, and a sattia much to windward; I chaced the former that stood in for the shore, and gott vpon her. Neither could shee dubble the head of Cape Passer, so shee ranne into shoule water vnder a castle that I saw to haue 6 brasse gunnes, and anchored there. I standing in after her, the castle hauing verie good ordinance made sundrie shottes beyond some of my vessels, but I went on till I came so neere that I made her for a Greeke (her hull, rigging and colours being such); and then, it being a verie vntoward rockie place and a lee shore and shoule water, I stood off againe. This night I gott about Cape Passer.

The 19. the wind came at W.N.W. so that I plyed it vp along the coast of Sicilia in sight of land, which is a beautifull countrie and full of habitations.

The 20. it was calme till noone, and then the wind came hard att N.W. By night I gott as farre as I had bin the day before, which was in sight of Malta.

The 21. in the morning the wind was more northerly. Wee were all day becalmed in sight of the Iland Lanasso.[a] By this iland is an other litle one called Lampadosso,[b] on which dwell no persons (according to the information by some of my men that had bin there seuerall times with the Turkes) but there is a lampe continually burning. The Turkes beare great reuerence to the place, and allwayes leaue oyle or bread or something behind them (through deuotion) but they know not for whom; and it hath prooued very fatall to carry away anything from thence, as well to Christians as to Turkes, onely one may safely water there.

The 22. wee were faire by the Iland of Pantalaria, and saw the

[a] Added in the margin, "Limosa."

[b] The like, "Lampidosa."

westerne end of Sicilia in the euening about 15 leagues of, the wind south easterly, a faire gale.

The 23. by noone wee were in the middway betweene Pantalaria and Maritimo, which we passed that euening; it was faire weather, and the wind N.W. I haue constantly obserued that when it is not stormie, the wind commeth about according to the course of the sunne, as these last dayes it did, from west to north, then to east (passing all the pointes according to the time of the day and height of the sunne) then to south, so to west, and about againe to north. Att sunnesett the wind came backe westerly, and it blew a stiffe gale. We had a great storme of wind all that night at W.N.W.

The 24. by breake of day wee descryed a saile standing afore the wind, and I caused the helme to be borne vp after her, the storme still encreasing. Shee bore all the saile shee could, and stood trying all the wayes she could to scape vs; but we ouerbore her, and she splitt her sailes (her toppesaile blew quite away) and lay much along. The sea was extreme high, and my shippe in good working exceeded beliefe, yet I did splitt some of my sailes and broke some of my shroudes, and the ancientest in my shippe said they had not seene nor heard of a chace giuen in such a gale of wind, but I had many reasons to mooue me to be eager in it. By noone I fetched her vp. [I found I had runne 14 leagues in one wat[c]h, though most of the time I stood close vpon a tacke,][a] and being so great a sea and storme that no boate could liue in it, I made him loofe vnder the lee of the Iland of Pantalaria, which wee were about 10 leagues from. Then in smooth water I made him come abord, and finding him to be of Amsterdam, laden with pilchers in Ireland, and consigned for Venise, I dismissed him without taking anything from him. His vessell was of burthen neere 300 tonnes, and was the finest mould that euer I saw, and he said he thought no vessell vpon the sea could haue wronged her in sailing or have outborne her.

He confirmed to me the newes which the captaine of the sattia that I took att Cephalonia told me, of the Duke of Buckinghams death.

[a] The words within brackets were a subsequent insertion.

In this chace I lost my Viceadmirall and the Hopewell, so that I was now alone; att 3 in the afternoone I plyed backe my course for Sardinia (our next rendezvous) the wind at N. N. W.

Att the end of the chace I pumped and found 3 foote water in hold, but I conceiue it came in by our shipping a sea that filled our deckes with water, and though our vpper workes were verie high yet washed ouer them and the shippe all through fore and aft, and carried me with the rest, ouerwhelmed in water, to the leeside; and all our gunne portes from the quarter forward on had their vpper sides vnder water; [also with bearing so much sayle all the seames in the shippe opened and spewed out the okam].[a] The putting abroad my toppesailes when I saw else I should haue a long chace, putt him out of courage, and made him in a maner abandon the trimming his sailes and grow desperate, doubting I had bin a Turke. When he was gone from me he shott of all the gunnes he had, and I saluted him with one.

The 25. the wind lessened somewhat and the sea. In the morning I was in sight of the middle of Sicilia, the wind W. and by N. Before night I was faire by a verie great and beautifull cittie, with a strong castle on a hill ouer it. In my booke of mappes there was the name of Sergento[b] written where I conceiued myselfe to be neere; the wind then came W. S. W. After sunne sett the wind came att S.

The 26. in the morning I was faire by Maritimo, the wind S. E. a great head sea; in the afternoone it rained and calmed. After sunne sett the wind came by the north to the N. E. smooth water.

The 27. in the morning a stiffe gale came at S. and by E. that carried vs vppwardes of 11 leagues a watch. Att noone it came S. afterwardes westerly, and after sunnesett it northered, and blew a verie stiffe gale; some raine.

The 28. it was very hasie, yet by breake of day wee saw the land of Sardinia, and the Ile of Serpentera and the others about. A while after wee descryed 2 sayles standing in, which when wee came

[a] Added subsequently in the margin of the MS. [b] Girgenti?

neerer together, by the answering of my signes I knew to be of my fleete; it was my Viceadmirall and the Hopewell. A litle before noone there came att N. W. the most violent gust of wind, with extremity of raine, that could be imagined; but continued not long. Before I could lower the yardes I splitt the foresaile. It continued all day verie foule weather, variable windes, and a growne cockling sea, the waues meeting from all sides: in the end it settled a stiffe gale at N. W. which continued all night, and in this storme wee all lost company againe, but in the morning had [the 29.][a] sight of one an other close by Serpentera. Wee desc[r]yed there 6 sattias standing to the northward; the Viceadmirall and my shippe gott 3 of them between vs, the other 3 gott away ahead. Of the 3 wee tooke, one ranne a shore among rockes and sunke, so that wee could saue nothing but her sailes and 2 murderers, and brought away her colours; the other 2 wee fetched off, all the men but one being runne on shore. All sixe were laden with wheate, *garauanzas*,[b] and cheese, and came from Naples. As I came vnder the castles, where I had bin att my coming this way before, they shott att me, and I likewise att them.

The 30. it was a stiffe gale att W. and in the night the biggest and newest of the sattias did spend her foremast, and by that meanes fell much to leeward.

The 1. of December, it being a stiffe gale, and I seeing that the great sattia could not worke to seaze the shore, I bore vp to her, and by a barrell viered her out a long hawser, intending to towe her into smooth water that there I might vnlade her. But shee missed taking the barrell, and came neere me to haue from my shippe a roape throwne into her, so that being vnder the lee of it her sailes were becalmed, and I, lying with my foresaile abackestayes, could not fill time enough to stretch out a head of her till shee was gott aboard me vpon the bowe, hauing torne my maine course and fore course quite through. There shee lay beating herselfe a long time, and all the industry I could vse could but saue the men in her, and

[a] Inserted afterwards. [b] *Garbanzos*, Spanish, or chick pease?

shee sunke all att once directly downe vnder my stemme, so that nothing appeared afterwardes of her but some peeces of broken bordes. I conceiue the vessell and lading was worth about 1000*l.* Then wee lay a hull till wee gott a new maine course to the yard; then tryed with that till the forecourse was mended, and in getting that to the yard it splitt againe quite through; so that wee were force to trye againe, and I ordered the Viceadmirall to endeauour what they could to gett into smooth water vnder the shore with the other sattia that was leakie, and not to stay for me, because I could plye it vp better when my saile was mended; the wind W. S. W.

The 2. I came to anchor in a faire sandie bay by noone, and sent off boates to towe vp the sattia, which, being much to leewardes, came not in till towardes night.

The 3. wee spent in vnlading the sattia, which I would haue giuen to the Frenchman that I tooke in her, but he durst not venture himselfe with those men that offered to goe with him (though his countrimen), and therefore chose to stay with me, so that the 4th I broke her vp for fire wood, which I wanted. These dayes it was calme and warme weather, whereas before all the while the wind was N. westerly, it was exceeding cold. In the euening I weighed anchor, there comming a gentle gale off of the shore; litle wind all night.

The 5. in the morning I descryed 2 sayles ahead that stood with me, and att the first I thought them to be the Rereadmirall and Swallow, but growing calme I sent of my boate to discouer them, who made them for Turkes, but they had Flemish auncients out. By their working I perceiued them to be men of warre; yet when they were come within a sacres shott att twice of me, they tacked from me, though I had haled in all my gunnes that they might not feare me, and had putt abroad no cullors. Then it grew dead calme, and I towed vp my shippe till the wind freshed, and then they gott much of me, whereuppon night growing on I shortened sayle to stay for my other shippes that were asterne; the wind S.E.

The 6. I stood off to sea, the wind westerly.

The 7. I stood in againe to the Bay of Cagliari to gett smooth water. Being in sight of the towne, I descryed two shippes to the eastward, to which I bore vp, and comming neere found them to be my Rereadmirall and my pinnace the Swallow.

The 8. I stood in againe to the Bay of Cagliari, and with my boates tooke a barke like a sattia (vnder the towers of the shore), laden with salt, which I gaue to a Frenchman that I tooke in one of the last sattias, and sent him ashore att his desire with an other Frenchman I had formerly taken, and a Genuese that I had deliuered from captiuity of the Turkes, and gaue them victuals and 40 crownes in money, and by them sent some letters to the Vicequeene of Sardinia (la Marquesa de Vayona) and to some other ladyes, that I had taken in a Napolitane shippe bound thither. Att night I stood off, the wind northerly, a small breath.

The 9. it was dead calme, and the current sagged me into the bay deeper towardes the eastward. It was verie hott weather.

The 10. the wind came easterly, a fine gale. I was inuited abord Captaine Stradling, and being there I descryed two sailes a litle off of the Iland of St. Peters standing boldly with vs, but by reason that all the boates of the fleete were abord the Rereadmirall, I could not come vp with the rest of my fleete so timely, but that all the shooting on both sides was ended first, and the two vessels lay by the lee. The Swallow came first vp with their Admirall (hauing Hamburg colors out), and being asked of whence they were, they answered "Of London and the sea;" and asked the other of whence they were, who answered "Of the sea." Then the Swallow (hauing putt out the Kinges colors long before) bad them "Amaine for the King of England!" to which the captaine spoke wordes of high disrespect to the King, and wauing him with a bright sword called to the gunner to giue fire, which by and by he did, and shott 7 peeces att my pinnace, all which hatt [*sic*] her, and one shott downe her mizen mast, and others cutt her rigging so much that shee was faine to beare speedily from them, without hauing giuing [*sic*] euill word or made any shott att them. Then the Eagle came vp with them

next, and neuer putt out gunne till she was within pistole shott, but then did it with great soddainenesse, and with as much dexterity; then furled her maine saile, and bad the Hamburgher "Amaine for the King of England!" whereuppon he then stroke his flagge thrice and hoised it att last aloft, and so lett it stand. Then Mr. Milburne (my master) bad him lye by the lee to stay for the Generall, but he answered in a muttering manner (but not to be distinguished so farre what he said), and of a soddaine all his men ranne downe and were seene buisie trauersing their gunnes vpon the Eagle; whereuppon the master bad our men giue fire, which they did in a verie quicke manner, and after one broad side and 2 vollies of small shott he came by the lee and strooke his toppesailes. Then Mr. Milburne left him to the guard of the shippes asterne that were comming vp, and lett fall his mainesaile and chaced their Viceadmirall that was standing away with all the saile she could make. But wee soone fetched her vp, and after 5 shott shee lay by the lee. Then I sent for men out of each of their shippes, and sent of my owne into them, and stood off and on all that night neere the Iland of St. Pedro (with a verie stiffe gale and a high sea att N.W.), and the next morning came to anchor betweene it and Sardinia.

The 11. after examining the principall parties, I was informed that the biggest was a shippe of Hamburg, sold by the first owners to some Flemish marchantes att Venice, from whence shee had carried prohibited goods to Sardinia and Spaine, and from thence was now loaden with the peculiar proper goods of some Genua marchantes dwelling there, and was consigned for Venice. Shee was loaden with barrila and wooll of Granada (some of the marchantes dwelling and being married in that towne), and was of burthen about 500 tonnes, and had 24 peeces of ordinance. The other was a Ragusa shippe, that had continually traded with corne to Naples, and had this voyage carried some to Alicante and Cartagena, and there loaden in the same manner and with the same goods as the other. She was of about 400 tonnes, and had 14 peeces of ordinance.

The 12. in the morning came a most violent gust of wind, and continued all day, a stiffe gale att N.W. Yet I begun to vnlade the Ragusa shippe. I caused all the roade about to be sounded, and found good ground and excellent riding, but no going out for a great shippe to the northward, for there is litle aboue 2 fadome water. [It is an excellent harbor, open onely to the S. wind, and that seldome bloweth home and neuer long. You may go in so farre as to ride land locked.] [a]

The 13. faire weather. I caused all expedition possible to be vsed in vnlading the shippe, and employed all my carpenters daily to helpe the leakes of the Hamburg shippe that made verie much water.

The 18. I descryed a sayle open of the port to seabord, whereunto I sent out my pinnace and a falluca well armed and manned. The pinnaces mizen mast being shott downe by the Hamburgher, shee could not hold a wind nor come vp with her, but the falluca did, and seeing they were Turkes, and that they shott att them, they left them. All this time faire and warme weather.

The 19. the wind came very gently to the eastward.

The 20. day the wind easterly; this day we ended vnlading the Raguses, and I settled Sir Edward Stradling and his company in the Jonas (the Hamburg shippe) making that my Viceadmirall, and Captaine Stradling and his companie in the Elizabeth and George, making that my Rereadmirall, and putt Mr. Harris captaine in the Lyon, and gaue my pinnace, the Swallow, to the Dutch captaine (whom I lett goe for Italie vpon his earnest sollicitation, because he was sicke), with 50 sackes of wheate, and 260 sackes of wheate to the Ragusa captaine and his company. Here all my Greekes (but two) and Italians left me, because they heard of great preparations to be made in Spaine to fight with me about the Streightes mouth.

The 21. the wind continued easterly. In the morning it was so, but in the afternoone it vsed to come southerly, but by midnight it still came about againe to the east; faire milde weather. This day wee ended all our businesse of the shippes, and watering here, which

[a] Added subsequently in the margin.

is to be done by digging shallow pittes of sand by the sea side, and they in a litle time fill with fresh water; but I belieue it dreaneth thither from the higher land, not from the sea, for if the bottome of the pitt were digged lower then the superficies of the sea, then the water came of an other colour, and salt; and digging in one lowe necke of land that was not broad, but had sea on both sides of it, the water came likewise salt, and fresh water came onely where, on the backe of the sand by the sea side, there were high hilles close by that were full of trees, a signe of moisture.

This night a boate full of fine wooll taken out of the Jonas to make roome for their victuals, sunke by the Rereadmiralls side, but they recouered all but 3 sackes, that were lost with the boate.

The 22. the wind easterly in the morning; then I weighed anchor, and licensed the Ragusa and Dutch captaine, who went both for Liuorne. About noone the wind came southerly, but as soone as wee were out att sea wee had it S.E.

The 23. the wind came about from the east by the S. and W. to the N., and about euening hardened in att N.N.W. It was a great storme of wind all night, and quickely the sea grew verie high.

The Viceadmirall was so leakie that we were all faine to lye a trye with our maine saile to keepe her companye, that was not able to carrie more.

The 24. the storme continued still; towardes euening the wind lessened somewhat, but the sea still went high.

The 25. in the morning a faire gale att N.N.E., still a troubled sea. In the afternoone the Jonas came by me, and Sir Edward Stradling told me that from 2,000 strokes of the pumpe euery glasse, they grew to pumpe continually, and could not free her with both pumpes; so that if the storme had not ceased euen when it did, they intended to haue borne vp before the wind, and yet would haue bin in great danger of foundering in the sea had it still continued to goe so high. I now perceived that what the Dutch captaine of her told me was not dissembled feare to putt me out of loue with her, saying, that I should neuer be able to bring her into Eng-

land. In the afternoone wee descryed a shippe to leeward of vs, but so farre off that being out of hope to fetch her vp before night, I thought fitt not to chace her, being it would but cast me to leeward to no purpose.

The 26. a gentle gale att S.W., smooth water. It came about by the west to the N.W. after sunnesett. Faire weather.

The 27. in the morning wee were in sight of the coast of Barbarie, high land, some 15 leagues. Cape Buget (which is about 15 leagues to the eastward of Argire) bore S.S.W. of vs about 20 leagues of. Faire weather, the wind W.N.W.

The 28. about noone Argire bore S.S.W. of vs, and in the morning wee saw that shore. In the afternoone there came first a rolling sea out of the N.E. bord, and soone after a forcible gale from thence with raine; wherefore, it being laborious to gett vp much to the northward, and the Jonas (a rich shippe esteemed worth aboue two hundred thousand crownes) verie extremely leakie, I thought it the best to make vse of this faire wind to carry me out of the Straightes, and therefore steered for Cape de Palos. It was calme a great part of the night.

The 29. there came a fresh gale att S. E.; which before noone settled att east, and blowed constantely a strong Leuante, which I vnderstand reigneth much in the narrow betweene Ivica and Gibraltar, as the N. W. windes do in the Gulfe of Lyons. The bad going of the Jonas hindered vs very much in our way, for wee spared her very much sayle, and yet it was so fresh a wind, or rather storme, that with our litle sayle wee made vpwardes of 8 leagues a watch.

The 30., one houre after midnight, wee descryed a sayle very neere vs, a head, the moone shining bright. Then wee all chaced with all the sayle we could make (and wee added seuerall boomed sayles) shee standing away before the wind, and a while wee neered her [Captain Beamond was so neere him that he made 2 shottes att him, and then made him for a Turke][a] but after it was day shee got of vs, yet wee continued our chace till towardes night;

[a] Added subsequently in the margin.

then, seeing there was was no hope of fetching her vp, I stayed for the Viceadmirall. It blew a verie forcible Leuant. In the euening it came E. N. E. It was all night a great storme, there being as much wind as canvasse would hold.

The 31., in the morning, wee passed faire by Cape de Gat, and sayled along by the mountaines of Granada, which were all couered with snow, and by noone wee brought the high land of Salabrine vpon our beame. Wee passed all along faire by the Spannish [coast?], but being hasie wee could descrye no sailes in any of the portes, and if wee had, the weather would not haue permitted vs to attempt any thing.

The 1. of January, about 4 of the clocke in the morning, we were faire by Gibraltar, but it was 10 before we were cleare of Cape Spratt, and had brought the lowe land of Trafalgara vpon our beame. Wee passed the straightes with many stormy gustes of wind and raine, the Leuant blowing still constantly and more forcibly then before, but att our entrance into the narrow of the channell it came awhile southerly of the east. Apehill is easy to be knowne by the swampe like a saddle vpon the toppe of it, and is to be seene 20 leagues to the eastward and as much to the westward, if the weather be faire and cleare. Gibraltar hill may be seene about 12 leagues off to the eastward, and the north side of it is so steepe vpright that the toppe hangeth ouer the foote of it.

In these last 48 houres we made vpon the point of 120 leagues, although I seldome had aboue halfe my sailes abroad, by reason of the ill going of the Jonas, for whom yet I was faine to stay often times. In the afternoone I descryed a vessell comming after vs before the winde; wherefore I packed on all the saile I could to take away all iealousies from her (standing away from her) and putt out a-sterne coyled hawsers, a bight of a cable, two filled buttes, and other dragges to hinder my way that shee might fetch me vp. But when he was gott neere me (which was in the euening) he lay by the lee, and would come no further; wherefore I tooke in my dragges and stood on my course (least he should outgoe me in the night), hoping that my manner of working might begett confidence in him, and

draw him so farre on that I might haue hopes of him the next day.

The 2., att breake of day, I was faire by 4 sailes of shippes, who stayed for me vntill I was almost within muskett shott of them, and some of them had their toppesailes strooke, and but one course abroad (for it blowed a strong Leuante). I then, putting abroad my colors, made readie to runne the biggest of them abord, they shewing; but all in an instant, with incredible quickenesse, they gott vp their toppemastes and sett all their sailes, and one stood from me before the winde, others went a little differing courses, and all were chaced by my seuerall shippes, who had euery one a chace, being that soone after wee saw the first wee saw another sayle to westward. Wee made seuerall shottes att them, and a while kept our owne. Wee had shott more but for hindering our way, yet they gott all cleare from vs, onely one of them lingered to speake with my Rereadmirall, betweene whom there passed salutes, for these were Turkes.

In my chace I tried all the wayes for aduantage that I could imagine, and being before the wind I found that I lost least when I followed him with all my sailes drawing, though I lengthened my way: and I thinke I may defend this paradoxe with good reason, that with some shippes, chacing one that goeth before the wind, with an other quartering with one tacke abord till you gett your chace vpon your beame, then making an angle and lying as farre on the other side with your other tacke abord vntill you haue gott him againe vpon the beame (which now will bee neerer to him), is better then to chace in a straight line; for you aduantage yourselfe more by the freshnesse of your way (all sailes drawing) then you hinder yourselfe by lengthning it, especially if there be one shippe of yours to leeward, vpon whom you may drive the chace when you are shott ahead [of] her: and all this is to be vnderstood, onely when your chace goeth best before the wind, and that you can outbeare her, by [*sic*]. By noone wee were faire vnder the South Cape (Cape St. Vincentes), on which is a strong castle, and another on Cape Saker.[a] Wee saw

[a] Sagres: the southern point of Cape St. Vincent.

Mont Ciego still verie plaine, which is farre vp in the land, and that wee saw plaine almost euer since wee came out of the Straightes.

This strong and sett Leuante hindering other shippes that might into Spaine from the westward, and the Turkes lying here keeping them in from comming out of the places of Spaine hereabouts, and the Viceadmirall being very leaky, I thought fit to spend no time hereabouts, but to make vse of the faire winde, and goe for the Burlinges,[a] where I might hope to meete with some comming out of Lisbone, and with this wind I was as like to meete with shippes comming from the northward to Spaine as well in the faire way, as by lying any where.

In the afternoone I descryed 3 sayles comming after vs, which I conceiued might haue come with this wind from Cales or St. Lucar; wherefore I shortened saile for them; but, seeing they wrought iealously of me and kept close vnder the shore, I maintained a faire saile that they might take vs for a fleete of marchantes, and att the closing in of the day I caused the Hopewell to carrie a light, and runne as much as shee could ahead, somewhat a westerly course, and I tacked in to the shore hoping to gett a sterne of them and thus to haue them betweene vs, they thinking all the fleete to be where the light was, and I tooke good order for our meeting againe before morning close by the shore. I kept the Rereadmirall and the Lyon with me, and appointed the Viceadmirall to keepe with the Hopewell because of her leakinesse and ill sayling, and therefore I would haue her loose no aduantage. When I was close by the shore I lay by the lee two glasses, vntill the moone being of some height made me discouer a good way, then not seeing them I stood on my course close by the shore, and in the morning mett with my two shippes ahead. The wind lessened att night.

The 3. it blew a fresh Leuant. By 8. of the clocke in the morning wee had the riuer of Lisbone E. and by N. of vs, and then it is all open. Wee saw the hill that the towne standeth vpon, and could discerne plainely the Castle of St. Julians att the riuers mouth, and others thereabouts. Wee had sailed close vnder Cape Picher,[b]

[a] Islands or rocks off the coast of Portugal.

[b] Cape Espichel.

and so wee did vnder the Rocke;[a] then wee descryed some small vessels a head with mizen sailes, which wee thought might be caruels, but wee found them fisher boates who ranne into a creeke vnder a towne, close vnder which wee were a litle before noone, the wind off of shore making vs bold to come in. The many sailes of Turkes lying hereabouts made the trading of shippes very dead. Before the euening wee were faire by the Burlinges.

The 4. it was litle winde all day, and wee kept neere the Burlinges, but haled a litle off to seabord, doubting the change of the winde. In the morning I descryed 3 sayles, with which I stood. Two of them stood away from me, and went faster then I. They were Turkes. But the other stood with me, and he was an English man of warre of about 200 tonnes, who had bin here about 6 weekes but had mett with no purchase. He told me there were vpon this coast aboue 40 sayles of Turkes, and verie many English, so that I concluded I had litle reason to stay longer hereabouts then for a faire winde.

The seeing of the litle order and obedience among his men (euery one of which would pretend an interest in aduise, and the whole bodie in command,) made me apprehend the happinesse and quiett that I had by the good discipline in my fleete, for I thinke that in no priuate vessels, or of the Kinges, there was euer better correspondencie in generall, and better performance of euery mans duty in particular, then was among my men.

To day I caused the 3 chestes of money that I had in the French saitia [*sic*] att Cefalonia to be told in publike vpon the decke, all the commanders of my fleete being present, which for some good respectes I would not open before, and thought fitt now that wee were neere home to giue my men the satisfaction to see what there was; and I found 5,800 peeces of eight and some odde money.

Captaine Limmery told me the Dunkerkers ranged much and in great fleetes about our channell, and that in all probabilities I could not misse of a hott encounter with them, for the which I was very

[a] Cabo da Roca, the Rock of Lisbon.

well prouided, and had a very good strength of 5 good shippes and aboue 120 good peeces of ordinance; but the maine thing that I relyed vpon was the courage and expertenesse of my men, who were such as I thinke for their number were not to be bettered, and had had both continuall victory and frequent occasions to fight, to traine them vp and to breede confidence in them. I vnderstood by Captaine Limmery (who was well acquainted with this coast) that there are verie good harbors [and without command[a]] and for great shippes, vpon the Spanish shore betweene the North Cape of Finis terræ and the Burlinges, of which I was ignorant before, and had no good pilote in my fleete for this coast; which made me the more apprehensive of a westerly storme, which causeth an extreme high sea here.

The 5. it was calme all day, and a verie smooth sea.

The 6. the wind came northerly. Att night it settled in att N.E. with some raine and snow, and was all day exceeding cold.

The 7th the wind continued att N.E. with some disposition to snow, and the sea was somewhat growne. In the afternoone the wind shifted too and againe very vncertainely and soddainely, and blew in frequent gustes, accompanied with misling raine and snow. The sea was now by night growne high.

The 8. the storme encreased, and by example of the Jonas (to whom wee continually fitted saile by reason of her leanesse [leakinesse?], and made her continually go ahead with the light all night,) wee tooke in our fore course and lay a trie with our maine course.

The 9. the storme encreased, and the sea went very high and hollow; the wind veered more easterly, att E. by N., and still wee had often gustes of misling raine and snow. All that wee could do was to make our way good att west these 3 dayes, although our shippe for the most part looked north, and this was by reason of the litle sayle that wee could beare, and a growne sea vpon the weather bowe heauing vs off to leeward, so that our way was litle before the beame.

[a] Subsequent insertion.

The 10. the wind lessened much and came at E.S.E., and the sea was very soddainely downe. I vnderstood of my Viceadmirall that her leakes encreased, and their men suffered much in pumping, although I had formerly supplyed them seuerall times with fresh and able men, so that now they had a greater number then I had in my owne shippe; yet I sent them an other fresh spell of men, and tooke order to encrease their allowance of victualles because of their hard labour, and spared them wine, beefe and rise, out of the proportion of my shippe. Towardes the euening the wind did norther againe. Captaine Beamond now complained that many of his men fell sicke, of which cold (through want of clothes, occasioned by the Proueditore of Zante his perfidious dealing with me,) was the cause.

The 11. the wind was in the morning att north, a gentle gale, and the sea very smooth; by noone it came about to the N.E., and wee had some gustes as the dayes before. In the forenoone wee descryed a sayle ahead standing to the westward, which wee chaced; but then shee standing close vpon a wind and reaching from vs made vs haue no hope to speake with her, wherevppon all my shippes gaue ouer the chace and tacked backe againe to the Viceadmirall. Att noone wee were in the height of 41$^{gr.}$ 46′, about 70 leagues from Cape Finis terræ.

The 12. wee were by noone in the height of 41$^{g.}$ 58′. It was litle wind all night, and that easterly, from which it varied litle, shifting litle and often to the S. and to the N., and thus it continued all this day, whiles I eased the Jonas of some barrila and some sackes of wooll (which I tooke into my owne shippe), to the end that shee might stowe her cables alowe.

To day I sent to take an exact suruey of all the stores (as the gunners, the boateswaines, the corporals, *etcet.*) that were in my seuerall shippes, because that I was now so farre aduanced in my iourney homewardes that a litle faire wind would bring me to the periode of my iourney, and when it should come it would probably be such as would not afford conueniency of making this search

before wee should come into porte, by sending any out of my owne shippe, which I deemed necessary. In the euening the wind came to the southward of the east, but shifting very vnconstantely, and faire weather with smooth water.

The 13., after sunne rise and a litle raine, the wind came S.E. a litle easterly; att noone our height was 42ᵉ· 39′.

The 14. att noone by our reckoning our height was 43ᵉ· 48′., from Cape Finis terræ 66 leagues, for it was so darke weather that wee could make no obseruation. About noone wee saw a shippe stand towardes vs, but shee weathered vs much, and putt abroad English colours, yet I tacked after her, and stood so aboue 2 glasses, but perceiuing shee windered and gott of me, I then gaue ouer my chace. By her working I iudged her to be a man of warre.

In the afternoone wee descryed an other shippe standing with vs, which fell in among mine that were all ahead of me, and they were so long in tacking that she stretched away from them; but then, with 2 pieces of ordinance from my shippe as he came neere me, I made him beare vp by my sterne, and he stroke his colors, which were of Holland. He was a man of warre of the West India Company in Holland, and a prime sayler, and had many and lusty men. The wind S.E., a stiffe gale and a growne sea; at night it came S.S.E.

The 15. in the morning the wind came E.S.E.; att noone we had a good obseruation, and the height was 45ᵉ· 18′, about 126 leagues from Silly.

The 16. the wind was in the morning E., faire weather; att noone wee obserued and were in 46ᵉ· and 17′, and from St. Maries iland att Silly 105 leagues; it was then almost calme, but what breath was did come from the S.S.E. and a rolling easterne sea, as we had euer since wee came out of the Straightes, which is seldome seene hereabouts, where a great westerne sea is so constant. It was calme most part of the night.

The 17. the wind came about by the S. to the west, with very faire weather, and the easterne sea began to goe downe. Att noone

wee obserued and were in 46ᵉ· 52′, Silly bearing N.E. from vs. In the afternoone it rained, and the wind came northerly and blew very hard.

The 18. the wind continued still N. a very hard gale, and was a great sea, and wee had often gustes of raine. Att noone wee obserued and were in 47ᵉ· 5′, from Silly 79 leagues. It blew so hard that wee lay a trye with our maine saile and mizen onely abroad.

The 19. the storme continued, the wind being att E. by N. and N. by E. Wee kept our height, but stretched out to the westward. In the night, ouer against the moone, there appeared part of a circle exactly like vnto a rainebow, and wee had many gustes of winde and raine, mingled with snow.

The 20. wee obserued att noone and were in 47ᵉ· 40′, the middle of the English channell bearing E.N.E. from vs, and Silly about 85 leagues from vs N.E. by E. a litle easterly. The wind att E., with often frettes; towardes night it did souther a litle.

The 21. faire weather, the wind S.E. Wee were at noone in 48ᵉ· 25′, and from Silly 70 leagues.

The 22. faire weather, the wind att S.S.E.; at noone we were in 48ᵉ· 52′, and by our reckoning were distant from the banke of Silly 18 leagues, and from St. Maries of Silly 52 leagues. Before sunne sett it was almost calme, and we haled out fore sailes vpon the backestayes and sounded the depth of the water, but we could find no ground att 110 fathomes. There rose then a great thigge fogge which dimmed the sunnes light, and soone resolued itselfe into misling droppes. Towardes night there came a litle breath of aire, as before att S.S.E.

The 23. the wind was S., close weather but drye. In the morning wee sounded, but had no ground att 135 fathomes; att noone by our dead reckoning we made account to be in 49ᵉ· 8′, Silly bearing N.E. by E. a litle easterly, 38 leagues from vs. Att 3 of the clocke wee sounded and had ground att 90 fathomes, verie small sand, making account to be on the northward part of the banke of Silly, about 34 leagues from St. Maries. At 4 of the clocke wee sounded and had 88 fathome, such ground as before. Att 5 a clocke wee

sounded and had 95 fathome, smaller sand somewhat enclining to owes,[a] whereby wee conceiued wee might be to the northward of our reckoning.

One thing deserueth to be obserued about steering our course, which is, that guiding our selues by the compasse in the steerage att the bittacle, wee might haue some error, for the iron gunnes there caused alwayes neere a point difference in all compasses there from the others in the shippe, and from what they pointed vnto when they were brought aloft.

Att night wee obserued by the north starre, and found our selues to be in the height of 49° 19′. Now wee steered away east, the wind att S.S.W.

The 24. wee sounded at 8 of the clocke in the morning, and had ground att 78 fathome, bigger sand and browner then before, with some litle blackes in it. Since yesterday att noone wee had runne 35 leagues vpon an east halfe northerly course, and made our selues now to be in 49° 19′, from the middle of Vshent S.E. by E. almost 19 leagues off, and from the Lizard N.E. almost 23 leagues off; the wind att W.S.W. mistie and rainy weather. Att noone wee obserued and were in 49° 37′, and sounded, hauing ground att 76 fathome, sand like the other, with litle blackes in it like small beaten pepper, and litle glistening thinges like peeces of christall. Wee made account to haue the middle of Silly Ilandes N. by W. of us, and the Lizard N.E. 16 leagues off; the wind W.N.W. faire weather; and wee steared N.E. by E., hauing made since noone yesterday 39 leagues vpon an E. course halfe N. Att 4 a clocke wee sounded, and had ground att 68 fathome, whitish sand enclining to owes, of which the tallow brought vp very litle. We now conceiued that wee were by our reckoning too farre eastward, and that now Silly bore N.E. by E. of vs, about 15 leagues off, hauing runne 7 leagues att N.E. by E. since noone; now wee steered E. by N. halfe northerly. Att 8 a clocke att night wee had runne 9 leagues more, and sounding wee had ground att 64 fathome (sounding from a shippe in a forcible

[a] Ouse.

gale is very vncertaine, because of the much stray of the line), but brought litle vp vpon the lead, onely a litle signe of owes vpon the tallow, but with a red cloth wee had no signe att all. This caused vs to thinke that wee were to the N. of the channell, and therefore (and because of the growing sea) wee steered E.S.E. The wind att W.S.W. an extreme violent gale.

Then the wind came att S.S.W. the cruellest storme that euer I was in, or that any in my shippe had seene (as they said), and wee lay a trye with our mainesaile, being in much perplexity because of the bad satisfaction wee had by our soundinges, and of the ill agreeing of them with our obseruations. After a while the wind came W.S.W. (brought about by a great gust of raine), and a mighty growne sea that continually raked ouer our shippe.

The 25. day at 2 a clocke in the morning wee sounded (the wind being a litle slackened), had ground at 62 fathome, broune sand, somewhat great, and two or 3 litle shels in it. Att 6 a clocke wee sounded againe, and had ground att 65 fathome, a litle sand as before. Then wee sett both our courses, and steered E.N.E. Before noone wee sounded and had ground att 48 fathome, grosse sandes somewhat reddish, fishing ground full of litle shels, and some litle blacke stones. Wee supposed then that the Deadman bore N. of vs about 8 leagues of. Att noone wee had a good obseruation (the wind att west by N.) and were in 47° 50′, and an houre after wee made land of England. It was the Mount[a], and by 3 a clocke wee were faire vnder the Lizard.

For the soundinges, I conceiue this, that the depths and the substance of the ground that you bring vp are to be regarded; but not the colour of the sand much. For latitude, our obseruations are infallible. But for easting and westing, great diligence is required not to fall into error, for vsually the logge is heaued att the steedie times of the gale, and many times puffes come that encrease much the way of a shippe, and in lying a trye, or with two courses lowe sett close vpon a tacke, all shippes do not make a like leeward way, and

[a] St. Michael's Mount.

whiles one lyeth with the foresaile on the backestayes, or that one shorteneth some saile close vpon a tacke to stay for an other shippe, much iudgement is necessary to allow fitting leeward way, which was the thing that did putt vs out of our reckoning; for lingring euery day for the Jonas, wee could but roue att what to allow for our way: so that if God had not blessed vs with punctuall obseruations, and with a large wind in the point of extremity, and with some good soundinges then (whereby wee were made certaine of the channell, though not how farre in), wee had bin very ill to passe this fearefull night. I lost all my fleete in the night, but this next day wee saw one shippe a head, after whom wee steered, hauing perfectly made the land that wee saw. In the euening wee descryed an other shippe not farre from that. When we came vp with them wee found them to be the Jonas and the Rereadmirall.

About 10 a clocke at night we had the Start on our beame, which wee saw plaine about 3 leagues off, and itt had lightened much a head (which I haue euer seene to be certaine signes of stormy gustes soone ensuing directly opposite to it), and of a soddaine (the wind comming W.S.W.) there came the most furious gust of wind that can be imagined, and splitt our sailes and endangered the killing some men, and tryed the strength of the shippe. It was soone ouer, and the wind came W. by N. About midnight wee had an other such gust. In the first of these I lost my Viceadmirall and Rereadmirall.

The 26., att 9 of the clocke in the morning, the two white cliffes about the middle of the Isle of Wight, a litle to the eastward of the Needles, were vpon our beame. Then wee descryed a shippe lying a trye a head of vs. As wee came neere her, she sett her courses and toppesailes, and bore vpp from vs. Then wee chaced her with all the saile wee could make (hauing neuer a foretopsaile, the last being blowne away in the night) and did putt abroad our colours. He then did putt abroad Flemish colours, but still stood from vs with all the saile he could, which with the built of his shippe and his lying to hereabouts made me conceiue he was a Dunkerke man of warre.

Att length I patched together an old toppesaile and gott it vp, but after two houres chace, seing he gott of me, and that he stood for the French shore, I gaue ouer chace and stood on my course for the Downes, E.N.E. with a very stiffe gale of wind att W.N.W. My standing one point large after him, which made the tyde take my shippe a litle on the weather bowe (not aboue a point), I was thereby cast so farre to leewardes that in treble the time, and standing two pointes within my course, I could not recouer it. It was extreme cold, and the wind northered vpon vs. Att night it westered againe. By 8 of the clocke att night wee had passed the Seven Cliffes and all the white shore of Beachie, and were close by within a mile of Beachie Point, which shewed verie white. Att 11 a clocke att night wee were by Fare Lee.[a]

The 27. in the morning wee passed by Douer, where the Hopewell rode att anchor, but seeing me shee weighed and followed me. An houre after sunnerise I came into the Downes, where I found the Lyon, one shippe, and two of the Whelpes of the Kinges, and some Flemish great shippes bound for the East Indias, and some men of warre to waft them, and seuerall other shippes. About noone my Rereadmirall came in, and 3 houres after that the Jonas. The gust of wind on the 25. att night had blowne away all their sailes, and they were in much distresse. The Lyon and the Hopewell anchored the 26. att Douer, but the Lyon that night broke a cable and lost an anchor, and was forced into the Downes.

This night it was a verie great storme att N.W., and the Rereadmirall broke two cables and lost two anchors; the third, and onely one left, being on ground, would not take hold, but with the furie of the wind the shippe droue as if there had bin no anchor downe (I beleeue that the fast driuing permitted not the anchor to breake and enter the ground), and they were very neere the Goodwine sandes, and had litle or no hopes of sauing either shippe or men; but, as soone as they had cutt their maine mast by the bord, the shippe ridde and wound vp.

[a] Fairlight.

The 28. I tooke order for fitting her with new ground tackle and a iury mast, and, hauing pilotes abord all my shippes, I stayed watching the first opportunity to goe ouer the flattes.

Whiles I stayed here, the captaine of the Kinges shippe told me that the East India shippes of the Fleminges had behaued themselues in seuerall thinges very insolently towardes him, and kept many English men by force abord their shippes to goe the voyage, wherefore he desired me to assist him if they should remaine vpon their former iniurious and high termes, which I made ready for; and, that he might complye fairely on his part, he went abord the Vice-admirall of the Fleminges in a friendly maner (taking me with him), vnderstanding that he had most authoritye, and had 44 English aborde him. From the generalitye he receiued very slight respect, but from the commander very good satisfaction in wordes, who assured him that no English man should be detained against his will, and that he desired onely such to goe with him as were marryed in Holland, and had long serued the state, and had receiued wages before hand. Whereupon they parted vpon good termes, the Kinges captaine [relying upon ?] the performance of what he said. It was the goodliest shippe that euer I saw, vpwardes of 1400 tonnes, had aboue 600 persons in her, men, women and children, and carried 44 peeces of great ordinance, and had vast roome in her great cabin and betweene deckes.

Wee were with contrarie windes and foule weather detained in this roade vntill the last of the moneth.

The 31. wee weighed anchor about sunne rise, with the wind att S. by E., and, hauing a good pilote in euery shippe, wee shaped our course to gett ouer the flattes into the riuer of Thames.

That night wee came to an anchor off of the point that is att the east end of Tilbury Hope, the tide then failing vs, and the wind scanting; it was foule and rainie weather. Att the next tide wee came to Grauesend, but the pilote of the Lyon (being weake through age) brought that shippe aground almost att the high water marke, so that att the ebbe shee remained all adrye.

The 1. of February wee remained there to see the Lyon of the ground, which wee did on the height of the rock.

The 2. wee came to an anchor in [illegible]

The 3. the Earl of Bristol, the Lord of [illegible] and much other company came aboard me, and I was mighty and roiall[y] entertainment from the King, and a happy welcome from all my frendes.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. xvii.—*In whose company he travelled, or what course he took, we are not informed; but .... it may be inferred .... that he stayed some considerable time in Spain.* A kind and fortunate suggestion of Mr. Gardiner, author of the History of James I. Lond. 2 vols. 8vo. 1863,) that Digby might have accompanied his relative Sir John Digby, the future Earl of Bristol, on his extraordinary mission to Spain to open negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles and the future Infanta, has led to the clear establishment that such was the fact. In a list of gentlemen who were to accompany Sir John Digby, prepared by Sir John himself, the tenth name is that of "Mr. Kenelme Digbye." (State Papers, Spain, 1618, fol. 20.) They sailed from Plymouth on or about the 28th August, 1617, and quitted Santander on their return to England on the 27th April in the year following. (State Papers, Spain, 22nd August, 1617, and 12th May, 1618.)

P. xix *n.*—*Allen's will proved at Doc. Com. 26th Nov.* 1632. Several passages in Allen's will and codicil are worthy of publication, especially

[a] Robert Digby, eldest son of Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, brother of John Earl of Bristol, created Lord Digby of Geashill in the peerage of Ireland, on the 29th July, 1610.

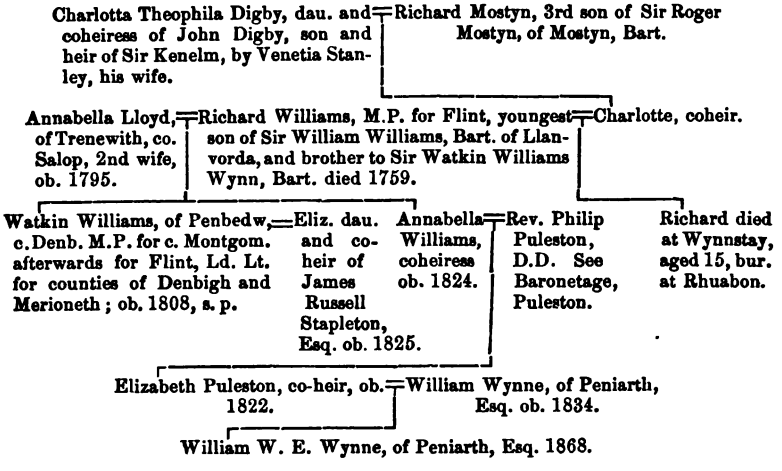
those relating to the gift of his books to Sir Kenelm Digby—a circumstance which has been the subject of considerable misrepresentation. In his will he remarks, "As for my bookes, how they shalbe disposed, and to whom, I doe purpose (God permitting) to leave a noate to my executor, which I desire him to performe accordinglie as a codicill annexed to this my will." In a codicil, dated 26th October, 1630, he bequeaths as follows:—"I give to Sir Kenelme Digbie knight, my noble friend, all my manuscripts, and what other of my bookes he shall or may take a likinge unto excepting some such of my bookes as I shall dispose of to some of my friendes at the discretion of my executor mentioned in my last will." Acting upon this bequest Digby, as is well known, presented the books to the Bodleian Library. A catalogue of them is included in the "Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ," p. 77. Dr. John Tolson, provost of Oriel, was Allen's sole executor, and proved his will.

The following other bequests are perhaps worthy of observation; they both occur in the codicil:—"I give to Sir Thomas Aylesburie knight my great concave glasse, whereof he made mention in a letter of his to his sonne, a student of Christchurche. . . . . Item, I give to my good friend Dr. Kettle, president of Trinity College, Oxon. my furred coat or jackett."

P. xx.—*Such a volubility of language as surprised and delighted.* Miss Stokes of Cheltenham, whose acquaintance with the sources of English history in the seventeenth century is no less remarkable than her kindness in communicating her knowledge to inquirers, has, among many valuable suggestions, reminded me of a striking passage in Sir Roger Twysden's Diary, published in the "Archæologia Cantiana," under the able editorship of the Rev. L. B. Larking, which bears upon this subject. Sir Roger having surrendered to the Parliament, was committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, "who sent me," he says, "to the Three Tobacco Pipes, nigh Charing Cross, as a prisoner . . . . . Whilst I continued there I grew acquainted with two noble gentlemen, Sir Basil Brook and Sir Kenelm Digby, persons of great worth and honour, who, whilst they remained with me, made the prison a place of delight, such was their conversation and so great their knowledge."—*Archæologia Cantiana*, ii. 190.

P. xxii.—*Who under the teaching of a priest . . . learned to speak "as distinctly as any man whatever."* We ought to have introduced into the text the name of this good priest, but the omission enables us to say a word or two more upon the subject in this place. To Spain belongs the honour of having taken the lead in the practical business of the education of deaf mutes, and to Pedro de Ponce, a Benedictine of Ona in Leon, the individual glory of having led the way in this great work of benevolence. Ponce died in 1584, and it almost seems as if the good work died with him. But it was only for a few years. After about a quarter of a century, John Paul Bonet, who was also a Spaniard and a priest, stepped into the vacant place, and in 1630 published at Madrid the first book upon the subject, in which he explained the manual alphabet which was much the same as that now in use, and laid open the whole of his mode of instruction. This was the person alluded to by Digby. Most works upon this interesting branch of philanthropy make mention of him, and his name is now very properly finding its way into biographical dictionaries.

P. xxxvii.—Pedigree showing the family connexion between Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Wynne, the present owner of the MS.


Charlotta Theophila Digby, dau. and coheiress of John Digby, son and heir of Sir Kenelm, by Venetia Stanley, his wife.
Richard Mostyn, 3rd son of Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, Bart.
Annabella Lloyd, of Trenewith, co. Salop, 2nd wife, ob. 1795.
Richard Williams, M.P. for Flint, youngest son of Sir William Williams, Bart. of Llanvorda, and brother to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. died 1759.
Charlotte, coheir.
Watkin Williams, of Penbedw, c. Denb. M.P. for c. Montgom. afterwards for Flint, Ld. Lt. for counties of Denbigh and Merioneth; ob. 1808, s. p.
Eliz. dau. and coheir of James Russell Stapleton, Esq. ob. 1825.
Annabella Williams, coheiress ob. 1824.
Rev. Philip Puleston, D.D. See Baronetage, Puleston.
Richard died at Wynnstay, aged 15, bur. at Rhuabon.
Elizabeth Puleston, co-heir, ob. 1822.
William Wynne, of Peniarth, Esq. ob. 1834.
William W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, Esq. 1868.

P. xxxvii.—*At Scanderoon he had attacked and defeated great Venetian galeazzes, at one time esteemed invincible.* Howell, in a letter to Sir Kenelm congratulating him on his success, remarks, "I do not remember to have read or heard that those huge galeasses of St. Mark were beaten afore." (Howell's Letters, p. 225, ed. 1737.) Such may have been the fact with reference to the "Galeasses of St. Mark," but Mr. Collier, in his recently-printed very interesting Book of Black Letter Ballads, has given one in which the great Spanish ship, one of those of the Armada, which surrendered to Drake in the English Channel, is termed a Galeazzo. At the head of the poem Mr. Collier has placed a representation of a mighty naval monster. We are told that she was three score yards in length, mounted a hundred guns, and was assisted by 200 oars, each stated to be 72 feet in length, "well measured to be seen." Stowe describes the ship as having accidentally fouled one of her fellows. Losing her foremast she fell astern and "lay like a stiff elephant in the open field beset with eager hounds." Her captain, Don Pedro de Valdez, refused to surrender to any but a commander like himself, but hearing the name of Drake, exclaimed, "Fetch him!" and on his approach yielded himself and his vessel without conditions.—Stowe, p. 747, ed. Howes.

P. 13, l. 2.—"*I resolued . . . . to putt into Argiers.*" In the Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby this place is mentioned under the name of Rhodes, and in the "Private Key" to the proper understanding of the names of the persons and places in the Memoirs, Rhodes is stated to be, "Uncertain, perhaps Sally or Algiers." It is clear that it was the latter.

During Digby's stay at Algiers his love of investigating curious cases in natural history found the following subject for its exercise. "I saw when I was at Argiers . . . . a woman that having two thumbs upon the left hand, four daughters that she had all resembled her in the same accident, and so did a little girl, a child of her daughter's, but none of her sons. Whiles I was there I had a particular curiosity to see them all, and though it be not easily permitted to Christians to speak familiarly with Mahometan women, yet the condition I was in there, and the civility of the Basha, gave me the opportunity of full view and discourse with them. And the old woman told me that her mother and grandmother

had been in the same manner. But for them it rests upon her credit, the others I saw myself."—Digby on Bodies, ed. Lond. 1669, p. 266.

P. 34.—*Having fitted my selfe with . . . . prouisions att Zant, and made up the accountes with the English marchantes that bought of my goods, . . . I weighed anchor.* In his " Treatise of Bodies," Digby mentions the following circumstance, as told him by " the Merchants in the Isles of Zante and of Cephalonia." " They told me," he says, " when I was there, it was the custom of our English dogs . . . . . to run into the sea in the heat of summer, and lie there most part of the day, with only their noses out of the water, that they might draw breath; and would sleep there with their heads laid upon some stone, which raised them up whiles their bodies were covered with the sea; and those dogs which did not thus, would in one summer usually be killed with heat and fleas." (p. 393.)

Digby was extremely observant of the characteristic qualities of animals. His books contain many anecdotes of their peculiarities, told with his customary large faith in the accuracy of his informants. The following reminds us of an old and well-known puzzle. Digby describes it as " a famous tale of one of these crafty animals." A fox "having killed a goose on the other side of the river, and being desirous to swim over with it, to carry it to his den, before he would attempt it (lest his prey might prove too heavy for him to swim withal, and so he might lose it), he first weighed the goose with a piece of wood, and then tried to carry that over the river, whiles he left his goose behind in a safe place, which when he perceived he was able to do with ease, he then came back again and ventured over with his heavy bird." (p. 390.)

Again, after telling a story of a tiger and a deer that had been bred together, and being encaged together and no meat given them, the tiger used means to break prison and never attempted to hurt his familiar friend. " You will not suspect that it was a moral consideration which made him so kind, but the deer had never come into his fantasy accompanied with other circumstances than of play or of warmth, and therefore hunger (which calls only the species of meat out of the memory into the fantasy) would never bring the deer thither for remedy of that passion. . . . . The like of this tiger and deer is to be seen every day in the Tower of

London, where a little dog, that was bred with a lion from his birth, is so familiar and bold with him, that they not only sleep together, but sometimes the dog will be angry with him, though any other dog that is put to him he presently tears in pieces." (pp. 424, 5.)

It may be added, by the way, that Digby in the same book "Of Bodies" attributes to "Montague" (no doubt Richard Montague afterwards Bishop of Chichester) the celebrated argument that so tickled the fancy of James I. that dogs make syllogisms, which is usually set down to Dr. John Preston. Digby puts the case thus, as if quoting from Montague, "for (says he) when they [*i. e.* dogs in hunting] have followed their chase down a lane, that at length divides itself into three others, they will carefully smell at the first and second, and not finding it has gone in either of those, they boldly run upon the third, without ever laying their noses to the ground, as being assured by their discourse and reason that . . . . it must of necessity have gone there." (p. 395.) This is different from the story told with many circumstantial details by Dr. Preston's biographer, which may be read in Chalmers' Biog. Dict. *article* Preston (John).

P. 39.—*Att the English Viceconsul's entreatie (who came aboard me).* Digby mentions this visit in his "Treatise of Bodies," although he there terms the English functionary Consul and not Viceconsul. "After a fight I once had with some Galleasses and Galliones in the rode of Scanderone (which was a very hot one for the time, and a scarce credible number of pieces of ordnance were shot from my fleet), the English Consul of that place coming afterwards aboard my ship told me that the report of our guns had, during all the time of the fight, shaken the drinking glasses that stood upon shelves in his house, and split the paper windows all about, and spoiled and cracked all the eggs that his pigeons were then sitting upon, which loss he lamented exceedingly, for they were of that kind which commonly is called carriers, and serve them daily in their commerce between that place and Aleppo.

"And I have often observed at sea in smooth water, that the ordnance shot off in a ship some miles distance would violently shake the glass windows in another. And I have perceived this effect in my own more than

once at the report of a single gun from a ship so far off that we could not descry her. I remember how at one time upon such occasion we altered our course and steered with the sound, or rather with the motion, at first observing upon which point of the compass the shaking appeared, for we heard nothing, though soon after, with much attention and silence, we could discern a dull clumsy noise. And such a motion grows at the end of it so faint, that if any strong resisting body check it in its course, 'tis presently deaded, and will afterwards shake nothing beyond that body; and therefore 'tis perceptible only at the outside of the ship, if some light and very moveable body hung loosely on that side it comes, to receive the impression of it; as this sound at the gallery windows of my cabin upon the poop, which were of Moscovia glass. And by then we had run somewhat more than a watch, with all the sails abroad we could make, and in a fair loom gale, we found ourselves near enough to part the fray of two ships, that in a little while longer fighting would have sunk one another." (p. 316).

P. 72.—"*Lampadosso, on which dwell no persons ....but there is a lampe continually burning. The Turkes beare geat reuerence to the place ....and it hath proued very fatall to carry away anything from thence.*" The late Mr. Joseph Hunter, whose name should never be mentioned without liberal acknowledgment of his great merits as a laborious and accurate investigator, published in his interesting "Disquisition on Shakespeare's Tempest" (Lond. 8vo. 1839) many particulars of this "desert island in a stormy sea." His wide reading enabled him to bring together many authorities upon the subject from the year 1584 downwards. It would have been a great delight to him to have added Sir Kenelm Digby to their number.

P. 38.—*I sent my sattia with letters to the Venetian Generall and the English Captaines, to acquaint them who I was.* The English Levant Company stated, in some propositions addressed by them to the Council, in the way of complaint for the loss they had suffered in consequence of Digby's fight at Scanderoon, that in the letter here alluded to Digby signified to the Venetian General his "intent to make prize of the French in

that port," which, they add, occasioned the ensuing fight, and " thereupon the loss and damage to the Merchants." (State Papers, Dom. Car. I. vol. cxxi. art. 103.)

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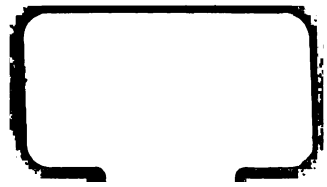
Nichols and Sons, Printers, 25, Parliament Street, Westminster.

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